

# BULLETIN

OF

## THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

MANCHESTER

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THE LIBRARIAN

(HENRY GUPPY)

VOLUME 13

1929

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2. The Library is open to holders of Readers' Tickets daily, as follows : Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. Tuesdays and Fridays, from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. Saturdays, from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m.

The Library will be closed on Sundays, Good Friday to the following Tuesday, Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Bank Holidays, and the whole of Whit-week.

3. Persons desirous of being admitted to read in the Library must apply in writing to the Librarian, specifying their profession or business, their place of abode, and the particular purpose for which they seek admission.\*
4. Every such application must be made at least two clear days before admission is required, and must bear the signature and full address of a person of recognised position, whose address can be identified from the ordinary sources of reference, certifying from personal knowledge of the applicant that he or she will make proper use of the Library.
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12. Other books may be obtained by presenting to the Assistant at the counter one of the printed application slips properly filled up.

\* Forms of Application for Reader's Ticket may be had on application to the Librarian.

## RULES AND REGULATIONS

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HENRY GUPPY.

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The general public are admitted to view the Library on Tuesday and Friday afternoons between the hours of two and six. Visitors to Manchester from a distance, at any other time when the Library is open, will be admitted for the same purpose upon application to the Librarian.

BULLETIN OF  
THE JOHN RYLANDS  
LIBRARY  
MANCHESTER

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No. 1

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

THE dedication of the new building of the Louvain University Library took place on the 4th of July, when the American Ambassador, Mr. Hugh S. Gibson, handed the key to Monseigneur Ladeuze, the Rector of the University, in the presence of the Crown Prince Leopold and Princess Astrid, who represented the King and Queen of the Belgians.

DEDICA-  
TION OF  
THE  
LOUVAIN  
LIBRARY.

As the golden key was being handed over the American and the Belgian flags were unfurled from the top of the great tower, and the carillon played "The Star-Spangled Banner."

Dr. Frank Pierrepont Graves, a visiting professor at the University of Louvain, who represented the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in the course of an address said: "The presentation of this library building is accomplished with the lively and abiding admiration, affection, and goodwill of the United States for Belgium, and for the noble soul and friend of humanity, Cardinal Mercier, at whose behest, and in whose honour, this memorial was erected."

Dr. E. D. Adams, the President of the American Society of Engineers, presented on behalf of his organization the carillon for the tower, in memory of the American engineers who fell during the war.

Cardinal Van Roey, Archbishop of Malines and President of the Board of Trustees of the University, in accepting the gift referred to the growth of the idea of restitution, and the means by which money had been raised, paying tribute to Cardinal Mercier, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, Mr. Hoover, the Architect of the building, and the Engineer of the campanile.

Five hundred guests, representing the United States and most of



the allied countries, assembled in the Place du Peuple before the new building, to take part in the ceremonies. After the dedication an inspection of the building was made, and in the evening a banquet was given, in what will be the great "Salle de lecture," at which grateful and appreciative references were made to Great Britain's share in the reconstruction.

During the course of the proceedings in the Place du Peuple an aeroplane circled overhead dropping showers of green handbills upon which were printed the words of the inscription, which the architect had designed to occupy a very prominent position as forming part of the balustrading which runs along the front of the building, but which Monseigneur Ladeuze had wisely decided should be eliminated from the design. The text of the offending inscription was :—

"Furore Teutonica diruta Dono Americano restituta."

The action of the Rector in deciding, as he did, will be commended by all lovers of peace, especially at the present time when such efforts are being made to ban war by the inauguration of an era of peace.

Since the publication of our last issue the field of historical studies has been impoverished by the almost simultaneous loss of three eminent historians : Professor H. C. Davis, Sir George Otto Trevelyan, and Dr. John Horace Round.

Professor H. W. C. Davis, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, was still in the prime of life when death claimed him, and we cannot allow the occasion to pass without offering a few words of sorrowful tribute to his memory.

PROFESSOR  
H. W. C.  
DAVIS.

In his short life of fifty-four years Professor Davis won a distinguished position as scholar, teacher, and administrator. A brilliant undergraduate career was crowned by a fellowship at All Souls. For twenty years he was history tutor at Balliol. His activity as a teacher was only interrupted by the Great War, during which he filled a leading position in the War Trade Intelligence Department in London, which occupied all his energies until the end of the struggle. Between 1921 and 1925 he was Professor of Modern History in the University of Manchester, where he rendered the greatest possible service in developing the study of modern history. During Professor



Davis's residence in Manchester he took a great personal interest in the John Rylands Library, contributing to its series of public lectures, and also to the pages of the BULLETIN.

In 1925 Professor Davis was recalled to Oxford on his appointment as Regius Professor of Modern History in succession to Sir Charles Firth.

In his early years Professor Davis taught ancient history, then he gravitated to the middle ages, and after the war to modern history. He was not only a sound but a stimulating teacher, beloved alike by students and by all who came within the influence of his generous lovable personality.

His literary output covered a very wide field. His earliest books were: "The History of Balliol College," 1899; "The Life of Charlemagne," 1900; "England under the Normans and Angevins," 1905; "Medieval Europe," 1911; "Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum," vol. I (1066-1100), 1913; "Political Thought of Treitschke," 1914; "Why we are at War," 1914. He was the editor of the long series of "Oxford Pamphlets" on the War; he revised and brought up to date "Stubbs's Select Charters"; Jowett's translation of Aristotle's Politics"; edited the "Heroes of the Nations" series; and directed the "Dictionary of National Biography" after it was transferred to the Clarendon Press, with its continuation 1912-1921. Throughout his career he was a large contributor to periodical literature, and an active reviewer of historical and political works. Much of his most original work is scattered through various periodicals, in particular in the "English Historical Review."

It has been suggested that the best possible tribute to his memory would be the publication of the continuation of the "Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum," which, it is believed, is almost complete in manuscript, and it is fervently to be hoped that this will be undertaken.

The death of Sir George Otto Trevelyan removes the doyen of English historians, and almost the last of the great men of letters of the nineteenth century. His greatest work was his "Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay" (1876), his uncle, the historian, which will remain to all time a model of literary biography. His other principal publications

SIR  
GEORGE  
OTTO TRE-  
VELYAN.

include: "The Early History of Charles James Fox," 1880; "The American Revolution" in 4 vols., 1909; "George III. and Charles Fox," 2 vols., 1912-1914.

Dr. John Horace Round did more for the study of English history than many professors, although his only long work was "Geoffrey de Mandeville," 1881. He was a man of leisure, who, unfortunately, suffered almost constant ill-health, but he was indefatigable in his studies, which are not only original but of abiding value to the mediæval student. He had an acute and accurate mind behind an incisive pen. The pursuit of error was to him a duty and a sport. An uncorrected error to his thinking, was not only likely to be perpetuated but would be the parent of thousands of others, and so was fair game.

DOCTOR  
JOHN  
HORACE  
ROUND.

He was keenly and actively interested in genealogy and local history, and much of his work is to be found in the "Victoria County Histories;" in the new edition of "The Complete Peerage;" in the "Transactions of the Archæological Societies of Essex and Sussex;" and in the "English Historical Review." Other works are: "Studies in Peerage and Family History," 1901; "Peerage and Pedigree," 1910; "The King's Sergeants," 1911. For many years he was honorary Historical Adviser to the Crown in Peerage Cases.

His editions of "Ancient Charters," 1888; "Rotuli de dominabus et pueris . . .," 1913; issued by the Pipe Roll Society; and his "Calendar of Documents preserved in France," vol. 1, 1899; are essential to the history of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in which genealogy plays so important a part. It was his "Gregory de Mandeville" which established his reputation, this was followed by "The Commune of London," 1899; and "Feudal England," 1895; and was preceded by his "Domesday Studies," 1891.

His work had a salutary effect on medieval studies in England.

Little more than three years ago (in October, 1925, to be exact), upon the retirement of Professor T. F. Tout from the position of Senior Professor of History and Director of Advanced Studies in History in the University of Manchester, we were congratulating ourselves that the mantle of Professor Tout had fallen upon the shoulders of one of his old and most brilliant

PROFESSOR  
F. M.  
POWICKE.

pupils in the person of Professor F. M. Powicke, who could be trusted worthily to maintain the tradition of exact scholarship so well and truly laid by his teacher and friend.

Now the pendulum has swung again, and we have to record the appointment of Professor Powicke to the Regius Chair of Modern History in the University of Oxford, in succession to Professor Davis.

During the three years that have elapsed since the duties of Director of Advanced Studies in History devolved upon Professor Powicke, he has added lustre to the fame of the Manchester School of History, and we are loth to let him go, although it is impossible to conceive of a more suitable appointment to the Oxford Chair. Indeed, the choice was so admirable as to appear almost inevitable, for he combines the humanism of Oxford with the medieval technique of Manchester, and has produced work, which for quality has placed him in the front rank of living medievalists.

He succeeds to a chair made illustrious in the past by Thomas Arnold, Godwin Smith, Freeman, Stubbs, Froude, York Powell, Firth, and Davis, not one of whom could have wished for a better successor.

Professor Powicke will be sorely missed not only by his students, but by every one who has in any way been associated with him in the active life of the city, whether within or without the walls of the University, but we may console ourselves with the reflection that to have furnished two holders of the Regius Chair of Modern History in succession is a compliment to the fame of the Manchester School of History of which we may justly feel proud.

The Manchester School of History, for a long time the only school of historical research in this country, which was founded by Adolphus William Ward, afterwards Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, but established and made famous by Professor Tout, has suffered many and serious losses during the last few years. First through the premature death of that gifted student of economic history, Professor George Unwin, then through the successive translation to other Chairs of Professor Davis, and of Professor Neale who succeeded him in the Manchester Chair, through the retirement of Professor James Tait, who shares with Professor Powicke the honour of being the two most

THE MAN-  
CHESTER  
SCHOOL OF  
HISTORY.



distinguished pupils of the Manchester School, followed by the retirement of Professor Tout who for thirty-five years had so wisely guided the destinies of the school, and now by the translation to Oxford of his successor, Professor Powicke. These changes are admirable tributes to the fame of the school and to the excellence of its teachers, but they are not unattended by anxiety to the University Staff in their duty of maintaining the standard of excellence which they have set up.

The last lecture which Professor Davis delivered in Manchester was at the John Rylands Library, when he took as his subject : "The Working Man in Literature." It was his intention to expand his lecture notes into an article for the BULLETIN, but such was the pressure of other work, down to the time of his death, that he never found time to carry it into effect.

THE WORK-  
ING MAN IN  
LITERA-  
TURE.

The subject is one that has never been dealt with before, as far as we have been able to discover, and it seems a pity not to preserve an outline of the lecture such as was printed in "The Manchester Guardian" :—

"Professor Davis confessed himself rather disappointed with the help he had been able to get from the novelists. The most helpful had been Maria Edgeworth. Her 'Castle Rackrent,' written in 1801, gave the history of an Irish family through the mouth of an old family retainer of peasant extraction, who epitomised the point of view of the class from which he had sprung. Sir Walter Scott tried once or twice to follow Miss Edgeworth's example, and was certainly successful in Caleb Balderstone ('The Bride of Lammermoor') and in that ideal portrait of a Scottish peasant contained in 'Old Morality.' There was help to be found, too, in Mrs. Gaskell's 'Mary Barton' and 'North and South,' but those books were written too much from the district visitor's point of view. As to Stephen Blackpool, the working man of 'Hard Times,' the trouble was that Dickens seemed content to use Blackpool merely as a mouthpiece for his own ideas.

"What was it that the working man wanted at that particular time to make him happy? Various answers were given. There was the hypothesis of the 'good-hearted Tory'—such a Tory as



Wilberforce—that what working men wanted was the kind of life their ancestors lived before the days of power-looms ; the Socialists of the period thought that what the workmen wanted was the material goods of life and more of them ; the followers of Robert Owen thought that what was needed was release from the squalors of private homes—communal kitchens, communal nurseries, and the rest. The men themselves preferred the Tory hypothesis. For example, Samuel Bamford, in recording his childhood's experiences, recalled that when he was a boy there were people living who remembered the good times when a master would sometimes ask his weaver to take a bit of dinner with him. What least attracted workmen was the Owenite prescription. Professor Davis dealt at some length with the career of William Lovett, whose advice to men of his own class, written in 1875 towards the end of his life, was that they should secure proper education for their children, try to remedy the evils of intemperance and gambling, agitate for universal suffrage, and do their best to secure harmonious co-operation between capital and labour. It was surprising, Professor Davis said, that working men could and did go far in England without any systematic education. He mentioned Robert Owen, one of the most widely-read authors of his time. In Scotland it was different, for there a boy without means could go educationally as far as it was in him to go. There were Robert Ferguson, whom Burns acknowledged as a model, Thomas Campbell, and Thomas Carlyle. We were not accustomed to think of Carlyle as a working man, but his father belonged to that rank, and Carlyle's education was simply such as was open to the ambitious sons of working men in Scotland.

“The trouble in England was that, though infant's schools abounded, the grammar schools, which were the next stage, all taught Latin, and the ordinary working man would not send his son to a school where Latin, and possibly Greek, was taught. There was the case of Thomas Hodgkin, the son of a naval storekeeper at Chatham, who was compelled at the age of thirty to settle down as a hack writer and lecturer, and who yet had it in him to produce, in 1820, a book which the experts said was undoubtedly the corner-stone of the English school of Socialistic economics. His ‘Popular Political Economy’ was also something of a landmark, outlining the policy which the trade unions were destined to follow in the thirties and forties.

"Of the poets of the working class, Professor Davis said George Crabbe seemed to him the most satisfactory. The son of a working man, and having himself lived the life of a working-class boy, he was the only poet who described with real accuracy as well as poetic force the material conditions in which working men lived, and some of the leading types to be found among the working classes. There was John Clare, not so powerful, and there was Ebenezer Elliott, the Sheffield working man, who wrote what Professor Davis said he thought the most powerful appeal on behalf of the factory children written by anyone." The lecturer read some of Elliot's verses, and said: "That, I think, is better poetry than Mrs. Browning's 'Cry of the Children.'"

Generations of students of the University of Manchester who were privileged to attend Dr. A. G. Little's lectures in palæography and learned to appreciate the charm and effectiveness of his teaching, will hear with regret of his resignation of the Readership in Palæography.

LECTURES  
IN PALÆO-  
GRAPHY.

Dr. Moses Tyson, Keeper of the Western Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, has been appointed to succeed Dr. Little, and has been conducting classes since the opening of the session.

We are also glad to be able to announce that the Lectureship in Assyriology in the University of Manchester, which has been vacant since 1919 through the death of the Reverend C. L. Bedale, who succeeded the late Professor H. H. Hogg, has been filled by the appointment of the Reverend Dr. T. Fish, who commenced his lectures at the opening of the session with six students in attendance, which, we believe, constitutes a record, at least for this country. Dr. Fish is a student of Professor A. Deimel, of Rome, and is a valued contributor to the BULLETIN. Much of Dr. Fish's research has been conducted in this library, and we hope we are not committing an indiscretion in saying that his interest in the subject was first awakened in the course of one of the Rylands Lectures in 1919, at which the subject of "English Assyriology during the War," was dealt with by Canon C. H. W. Johns, who was prevented from delivering the lecture in person, in consequence of serious indisposition, and it was read by Dr. Rendel Harris.

LECTURES  
IN ASSYRI-  
OLOGY.

Dr. William Temple, the newly-elected Archbishop of York, who has been a member of the Council of Governors of the John Rylands Library, throughout the ten years that have elapsed since his appointment to the Bishopric of Manchester, has felt compelled to resign his seat on the Council, because he feels that real attendance at the meetings, will now become impossible.

ARCH-  
BISHOP  
OF YORK.

Dr. Temple concludes his letter of resignation in the following terms: "I have greatly valued my association with the Library, of which, like all other Manchester citizens, I have been extremely proud. It is certainly one of the glories of Manchester, and it is with great sorrow that I contemplate the close of official connection with it."

The Governors at their December meeting, expressed their great regret at the Bishop's resignation of his seat on the Council in consequence of his impending removal from Manchester, and coupled with it their warm appreciation of the services he had rendered to the Library during the ten years of his association with them in its administration. In taking leave of their colleague the Governors offered to him their congratulations upon his elevation to the dignity of the Archbishopric of York, wishing him "long and happy life with the necessary strength and wisdom in which and with which to fulfil the duties of his high office."

We regret to say that we have been unable to continue the series of "Woodbrooke Studies" in the present issue, on account of the serious indisposition of Dr. Mingana. We are happy to say that Dr. Mingana is now convalescent, and we hope to resume publication of the series in our next issue.

WOOD-  
BROOKE  
STUDIES.

Nine months have elapsed since the publication of the concluding part of the great "Oxford English Dictionary," and we are told that already work has been begun upon a supplement, in which will find place all the words with a shady past, and those of a doubtful future, together with all words which have been coined in the intervals since the various sections were completed.

THE OX-  
FORD ENG-  
LISH DIC-  
TIONARY.

To commemorate the completion of the "Dictionary," and in honour of the late Sir James A. H. Murray, first editor, and one of the original Fellows of the Academy, the Council of the British

Academy had struck a gold medal to be awarded on rare occasions for pre-eminent achievement in the field of English scholarship. On the 24th of July, which happened to be the eve of Lord Balfour's eightieth birthday, he, as President of the British Academy, handed its first medal to Mr. Harold J. R. Murray, Sir James Murray's eldest son, Lady Murray being present. In making the presentation Lord Balfour said he did not think the English speaking world yet realized how great a gift was given it by the original author of the Dictionary and the great body of scholars who had carried it to so successful a termination.

The completion was also commemorated by a dinner given by the Goldsmiths' Company in its great hall on the 6th of June, when the Prime Minister proposed the health of the editor and staff of the "Dictionary." Mr. Baldwin said : if ever a work was destined for eternity the "Dictionary" was. Lord Oxford once said that if he were cast on a desert island, and could only choose one author for company, he would have the fifty volumes of Balzac, whereas Mr. Baldwin declared that he would choose the "Oxford Dictionary" every time.

The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, Dr. F. W. Pember, responding on behalf of the University, stated that the net loss on the undertaking runs into six figures, and that it was years before the Press realized the vastness of their undertaking, yet, had they realized it at first they probably would not have blenched. Fitting tribute was also paid to all those who had wrought on this great monument to Oxford's zeal for the increase of human learning. Not only those whose names are on the lips of men, but to those further workers who laid but one course, perhaps but a single stone on the fabric, Oxford owes a debt of imperishable gratitude.

Oxford honoured five of the men who had been so actively associated, in one way or another, with the completion of the "Dictionary," by conferring upon them the degree of Doctor of Letters. The men so honoured were : Sir William Craigie, Professor of English in the University of Chicago, who for twenty-five years played the leading part in building up the "Dictionary"; Charles Talbot Onions, Reader in English Philology in the University of Oxford, who has spent thirty years of his life in lexicography; Humphrey Sumner Milford, Publisher to the University; Robert William Chapman,



Secretary to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press ; John Johnson, Printer to the University.

We, too, in the name, and on behalf of those we represent would like to add our modest but none the less sincere tribute of praise. No library worthy of the name is properly equipped unless it has a copy of this monument of scholarship readily accessible to students upon its shelves.

Few greater scholars have risen from so unpromising an environment as Joseph Wright, the creator of "The Oxford Dialect Dictionary," that other monument of scholarship and industry, which fills six quarto volumes, with an aggregate of 4684 pages of double columns, and is the most comprehensive dialect dictionary ever published in any country. The whole responsibility of financing and editing this great work rested upon Dr. Wright.

A GREAT  
PHILO-  
LOGIST.

His mother, a widow with four children, was so poor in his infancy that, at one time, she had to take her family into the work-house for several months. At the age of six years our future philologist was driving a donkey at eighteen pence a week, and a year later he was a half-time doffer in a worsted mill at three shillings and sixpence a week. It was not until he was seventeen years of age that he could read and write, and he has declared that until he had come to man's estate he spoke nothing but the broadest Yorkshire dialect.

When he did begin his education he made phenomenal progress. At the age of twenty-one he had managed to save forty pounds, with which he entered Heidelberg University. At thirty he took the Ph.D. degree, and at thirty-six he became Lecturer in Gothic, Old German, and Anglo-Saxon, to the Association for the Higher Education of Women, at Oxford. Two years later he was appointed Lecturer in Teutonic Philology at the Tylorian Institution at Oxford. In 1901 he became Professor of Comparative Philology, at Oxford, in succession to Professor Max Müller. His greatest service to the world, however, will prove to be the compilation of "The Oxford Dialect Dictionary." For this his early experiences specially fitted him, for he knew dialect not merely as a scholar, but as one who had used it in daily intercourse with his fellows.

Lovers and students of dialect will learn with pleasure of the

proposal in Bradford, Yorkshire, to confer upon Dr. Wright the freedom of the city of his native place. He has had academic honours conferred upon him by at least five Universities, and is a Fellow of the British Academy, but he will probably regard this recognition of his great achievement by an industrial centre, as a signal honour.

The addition to the shelves of the library during the year 1928 numbered 3250 volumes.

The following titles represent a selection of the works which have been acquired since the publication of the last issue of the BULLETIN, and will serve as an indication of the character of the additions which are constantly being made to the various departments of literature with a view of increasing its efficiency.

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## PAUL AND THE JEWISH CHRISTIANS.<sup>1</sup>

BY A. S. PEAKE, M.A., D.D.

RYLANDS PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL EXEGESIS IN THE UNIVERSITY  
OF MANCHESTER.

THE Christian religion grew out of Judaism. Its Founder was a Jew who was conscious that the unique Divine revelation which had been given to Israel was destined to culminate in Himself. Though He was far from sharing the ideals and hopes of the Jewish Messianic belief, He did identify Himself with the Messiah.<sup>2</sup> The Old Testament was for Him Holy Scripture. The God of Israel was the one true God. But within a very brief time not only had the religion passed beyond the bounds of Palestine and spread among the Jews of the Dispersion, but it had gained great success among the Gentiles. And these Gentiles were not required to become proselytes, to accept the yoke of the Jewish Law and submit to its indispensable ceremony of initiation. When we remember the tenacity with which the Jews held to the Law and circumcision we shall realise that such a development calls for explanation. Our records show that while the emancipation of Christianity from Judaism was effected more rapidly than we might have anticipated, it was at the cost of not a little internal friction. Presumably the new religion would in any case have finally achieved its detachment from Judaism; but that its independence was gained so quickly and so decisively was due pre-eminently to the Apostle Paul.

But the reconstruction of the stages through which the movement passed is a matter of exceptional difficulty. The problems are created by critical questions touching our documentary sources, by

<sup>1</sup> An amplification of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, the 14th Nov., 1928. I have included in it a note on the Apostolic Decree previously published in the *Holborn Review*.

<sup>2</sup> On this see *The Messiah and the Son of Man*, pp. 4-16.

grave doubts as to text and interpretation, by the difficulty of attaining certainty as to chronological sequence, and by the adjustment of our different sources of information to each other. Our chief sources of knowledge are the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle to the Galatians; but other epistles of Paul have been drawn into the controversy and other New Testament books, especially the Book of Revelation. At one time the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions played a considerable part in the debate.<sup>1</sup>

The issue had arisen to some extent before the conversion of Paul. It is not unlikely that the dispute between the Hebrews and the Hellenists, that is the Aramaic- and the Greek-speaking members of the Church, went deeper than the mere neglect of the widows of the latter section in the administration of the charitable fund. This may well have been the point on which the difference came to a head; but it is probable that there was a tendency to liberalism on the part of the Hellenists which seemed dangerous to the narrower Hebrew Christians. No schism resulted; but it is possible that, while the relations between the two sections remained cordial, they may have thought it wisest to hold separate meetings. It is noteworthy that though the Seven were appointed to administer relief, the two of whom further information is preserved to us—Stephen and Philip—were specially noteworthy for their aggressive evangelism. Stephen defended the Christian case in the Hellenist synagogues of Jerusalem. His propaganda provoked an opposition much more serious than that with which the apostles had been confronted. This culminated in the trial and death of Stephen and a persecution which scattered the Hellenists, while it left the apostles and presumably their section of the Church untouched.<sup>2</sup> It seems to follow from this that there was an

<sup>1</sup> I have not thought it necessary to discuss either the Revelation of John or the Clementine literature. These were prominent in the Tübingen theory; but the view that the Apostle John attacked Paul in the former has long been obsolete, while the Clementine literature is later than Baur thought, and of little if any value for estimating the relations between the original apostles and Paul. E. Meyer denies that at any point in it Simon is the mask of Paul (*Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, III. pp. 301f.); but I have always felt it difficult to deny that Paul was in the author's mind in the nineteenth chapter of the Seventeenth Book of the Homilies.

<sup>2</sup> The statement that all were scattered except the apostles is scarcely credible if rigidly pressed. If the persecution was directed against the Church generally the ringleaders of the movement would not have been left

element in the preaching of Stephen which was recognised to be more inimical to the fundamental principles of Judaism than that of the apostles. The withdrawal of the Hellenists, who were apparently the more liberal wing, would strengthen the reactionary element in the community at Jerusalem.

It is often supposed that Stephen had largely anticipated the position reached by Paul; it has indeed been asserted that he had gone beyond it.<sup>1</sup> This seems to me much exaggerated. We are not entitled to build without caution on the testimony of the "false witnesses." There was, no doubt, a large element of truth in their indictment; but no device of controversialists is more familiar than to saddle an opponent not only with the opinions which he has himself expressed but with inferences which seem to them to follow, though no part of his own case and perhaps explicitly disowned by him. We have no report of Stephen's utterances in the synagogues, and are therefore driven back on the speech he is said to have made in his defence. In spite of the scepticism often expressed, I believe that it faithfully indicates the general line which he took. The speech is no random collection of incidents from Hebrew history but a skilfully

unmolested. If the apostles remained undisturbed, their immediate adherents would presumably have been free to remain. The apostles may have gone into hiding, but this would be equally possible for others.

<sup>1</sup> So especially W. L. Knox, *St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem*. Stephen's speech "amounts to the doctrine that Our Lord has revealed that both the Law and the Temple were from the outset false developments." His system "would have justified a much more serious accusation." His speech is "entirely non-Pauline in its view of the O.T." He went to "lengths which the Christian Church has never upheld" (p. 51). "The whole implication of S. Stephen's speech is that the historical development has been entirely false." This is only to be paralleled in the Epistle of Barnabas. His method involves "a completely arbitrary selection of certain passages in the O.T., and a radically false interpretation of them;" logically it leads to a Marcionite distinction between the God of the O.T. and the God of the N.T. (p. 54). The author charges him with "daring perversion of the O.T." (p. 55).

I was glad to find in reading Wellhausen's *Kritische Analyse der Apostelgeschichte* (1914) that he confirmed the view I had long taken, as to the significance of the speech on this point. His conclusion is, "He seems accordingly to have been radical in his attitude to the Temple of Solomon, and conservative in his attitude to the Mosaic Law" (p. 13). It is immaterial for our purpose that he rejected the authenticity of the speech.

selected series of episodes designed to bring out the ingrained rebelliousness of the people, but also the connection of Divine revelation and action with places outside Jerusalem and the Holy Land. The Law is scarcely touched upon; no hostility is expressed towards it nor any anticipation of its abolition. Stephen does not go substantially beyond the position taken by Jeremiah, Micah, and the author of Isa. lxvi. 1. Jesus Himself had been charged at His trial on a similar count so far as the Temple was concerned, though probably His language was garbled by the witnesses.<sup>1</sup> But in any case He had predicted that of the massive Temple masonry not one stone should be left upon another.

Stephen's colleague, Philip, is known to us chiefly for his mission to the Samaritans and his encounter with Simon. Though the Jews hated the Samaritans and denied the legitimacy of their sanctuary, they could not regard them just as uncircumcised heathen. The Samaritans accepted the rite of initiation into the Covenant and regarded the Law as binding. Hence their admission to baptism involved no breach of principle on the part of Philip. Peter endorses the work and bestows the gift of the Holy Spirit on those who had been previously baptised.

A further step was taken by some of those who had been driven from Jerusalem by the persecution which followed the death of Stephen. According to the generally accepted text<sup>2</sup> some of these, natives of

<sup>1</sup> A saying of this kind was probably uttered by Jesus, but it has to be reconstructed from the varying forms. Probably Jn. ii. 19 is more correct in giving the imperative 'Destroy' than the prediction 'I will destroy'. It was this vital change which made the testimony of the witnesses false. But their version is to be preferred in the substitution of 'another' and the addition of 'made with hands' and 'not made with hands' (Mk. xiv. 58). The meaning is, 'Destroy this temple by continuing to desecrate it more and more and in its place I will rear another temple, spiritual and immaterial'. The statement 'But he spake of the temple of his body' (Jn. ii. 21) can hardly give the original significance. This reference did not occur to the Jews (v. 20) nor to the disciples till after the resurrection (v. 22). 'Made with hands' is inappropriate to the body (it is, of course, omitted by John); and unless Jesus pointed to His body, His words could in themselves and in this situation refer only to the actual Temple; while if He had pointed to it there would have been no doubt as to His meaning.

<sup>2</sup> The best attested text in Acts xi. 20 reads 'Ἑλληνιστὰς' 'Hellenists' (R.V. mg. 'Grecian Jews'), and this is accepted by Westcott and Hort, Von Soden and Ropes, but the great majority prefer 'Ἕλληνας', 'Greeks.' Loisy thinks that Luke wrote this but that the redactor altered it. The



Cyprus and Cyrene, when they reached Antioch made a large number of converts from the Gentiles. The report of this reached Jerusalem and Barnabas was sent to investigate. He was gladdened by what he saw, participated with great success in the work, and then went to Tarsus to enlist the co-operation of Paul.

The remaining case was that of Cornelius. He was a devout Gentile, a 'God-fearer' eminent for prayer and almsgiving. In consequence of a vision he sent for Peter who had also been instructed through a vision to visit him, waiving the scruples he would naturally have felt at doing so. While he is preaching to Cornelius and his friends they receive the baptism of the Holy Ghost and speak with tongues. Peter feels warranted by this to baptise him and when his conduct is criticised by the Apostles and brethren at Jerusalem they recognise that the gift of the Holy Ghost was sufficient justification for what he had done. It must be remembered with reference to this and other incidents that their chronological sequence is open to doubt because the author has to follow several distinct strands in this part of his story.<sup>1</sup>

context seems to require a contrast to the action of the missionaries recorded in *v.* 19, 'speaking the word to none save only to the Jews.' This is not provided if those mentioned in *v.* 20 were also Jews. Ropes suggests that the rare word means 'Greek-speaking persons' who may be non-Jews. "The specific meaning 'Greek-speaking Jews' belongs to the word only where that is clearly indicated by the context, as is certainly not the case here" (*The Text of Acts*, p. 106 in *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Part I., Vol. III.). But the contrast with 'Jews' in *v.* 19 suggests that the term in *v.* 20 carries with it an explicit *racial* connotation, and does not merely indicate a difference in the language spoken. Even in Jerusalem this distinction had existed from a very early period and Luke expresses it by the terms 'Hebrews' and 'Hellenists.' That he should have used 'Hellenists' in this sense in *vi.* 1 makes it unlikely that he would have used it in *xi.* 20 to mean 'Gentiles' in contrast to 'Jews.' A decisive new departure is made at this point; an unambiguous term is required to make this clear.

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that the incidents in the career of Peter (Aeneas, Dorcas, Cornelius) related in Acts ix. 32-xi. 18 followed rather than preceded his imprisonment by Herod and release from impending execution. Some, including E. Meyer (*op. cit.* pp. 169 f., 196), place the conference at Jerusalem recorded in Acts xv. before the missionary tour of Barnabas and Paul recorded in Acts xiii. f. The crucial problem of the identification of Paul's visits to Jerusalem as recorded in Acts and Galatians is notorious, and will call for discussion below. It has even been argued that Peter's visit to Antioch (Gal. ii. 11) should be dated before Paul's visit to Jerusalem recorded in ii. 1.

The impression which is made on us by the story is that the Church at Jerusalem was very narrow in its outlook; and this narrowness was presumably intensified when the expulsion of the Hellenistic section took place. It must be remembered, however, that the apostles had been with Jesus, they had listened to His teaching and observed His practice. They remembered vividly His controversies with the Pharisees and had heard Him uttering far-reaching principles. But they were slow in drawing the legitimate inferences. It was nevertheless very helpful to their progress if they could see that a step which contravened their prejudices could be justified by the precept or example of their Master.

When Paul became a Christian he did not return to Jerusalem for some three years and apparently did so only because Damascus was no longer safe for him. He took the opportunity, however, to visit Peter with whom he stayed for a fortnight. He saw no other member of the Twelve; but he saw James, the brother of Jesus, who was to play so important a part in the later development. From his own account we should infer that he had but little contact with the Church in Jerusalem. This was probably the case, though the historian indicates that he saw several apostles, mingled with the brethren and disputed with the Hellenists.<sup>1</sup> After a brief stay he went to Tarsus and carried on his work in Cilicia, his native country, and Syria. Barnabas brought him from Tarsus to Antioch where they began a period of fruitful collaboration.

The Acts of the Apostles proceeds to tell us that Barnabas and

The problem is further complicated by the uncertainty as to the date of Galatians, which is to some extent bound up with the question as to the locality of the Churches addressed in that Epistle.

<sup>1</sup> Jerusalem would not be the safest place for Paul to visit after he had not merely failed to fulfil his commission from the High Priest but had gone over to the Christians. The account in Galatians suggests that Paul avoided contact even with his fellow-Christians in Jerusalem, apart from James and Peter, not to speak of the Jews. We should naturally infer from it that he remained in Jerusalem only a fortnight; but his visit to Peter may have been terminated by Peter's departure from Jerusalem (so W. L. Knox, *op. cit.*, pp. 103, 121 f.), but this is not the natural impression the passage makes in itself. It would make it easier to reconcile Paul's statement with the account in Acts or at least to reduce the discrepancy. But the moral of the discrepancy ought not to be forgotten when we are considering the identification of the later visits.

Paul were sent to Jerusalem with money collected to relieve the poor Christians of the mother Church in a famine predicted at Antioch by Agabus, a prophet from Jerusalem. Whether Paul mentions this visit or not in Galatians is a subject of keen controversy. The next visit which he mentions in Galatians after his stay with Peter is that recorded in Gal. ii. 1-10. The generally accepted view has been that this visit is to be identified not with the Famine Visit of Acts xi. 30, xii. 25 but with that of Acts xv. 1-30. This view had been challenged by some earlier scholars; but the opposition to it has increased during the last thirty years. The argument which several scholars regard as decisive is that the case for his independence necessitated the mention of every visit to Jerusalem down to that recorded in Gal. ii. 1-10. If this visit is identified with that in Acts xv. it is urged that Paul would have been disingenuous in omitting the visit in Acts xi.<sup>1</sup> If we assume that in Gal. ii. 1-10 Paul is still arguing for the independence of his Gospel, this objection to the identification of the visit in Gal. ii. with the visit in Acts xv. is undeniably cogent. But that it is conclusive is not at all so certain. For the inference may be evaded in various ways. It is quite possible that the apostles were one and all absent from Jerusalem at the time of the Famine Visit. It may be significant that the narrative in Acts says nothing of the apostles but simply mentions the elders (xi. 30). Or it is quite possible, though it may be improbable, that in view of its purpose Paul ignored this visit as irrelevant to his argument. It is also quite conceivable that the Famine Visit is to be identified with

<sup>1</sup> So (very emphatically) W. L. Knox: "Either we have different incidents or two contradictory accounts of the same incident, one of which is either utterly inaccurate or else deliberately falsified. S. Paul insists that he only consulted the leaders of the Church while S. Luke insists that the whole body was consulted. . . . The identification of the visit of Gal. ii. with the Council of Jerusalem is really fatal to S. Luke's accuracy. It also involves S. Paul in deliberate perjury, since Gal. i. 20 is entirely unjustifiable if S. Paul is in fact suppressing all mention of a visit to Jerusalem at the time of the famine" (*op. cit.* p. 188). But where does Paul insist that he consulted the leaders only? A few scholars, it is true, think that his language favours this. But most commentators on Galatians think that a private and a public consultation are implied, so *e.g.* Loisy, "Paul indicates two kinds of conference, (one) with a larger group, the whole community or the elders of this community, and (another) with a more restricted group, *i.e.* James, Cephas, and John (*L'Épître aux Galates*, p. 164). On the reasons for this distinction see Burton, *Galatians*, p. 71.

that in Acts xv., if Luke drew the accounts from different sources and erroneously supposed that two distinct visits were intended.

But is the assumption that in Gal. ii. 1-10 Paul is still demonstrating his independence of the apostles so certain as is commonly assumed? I have long felt great doubt on this point. After all Paul had spent fifteen days with Peter on his first visit and it seems as if any argument for the independence of his teaching based on prolonged absence from Jerusalem after that date would be of little value. For in a fortnight there was ample time for Paul to learn everything that Peter had to teach him. If, then, the proof of the independence of his Gospel based on avoidance of contact with the apostles closed with Gal. i. there was no need for a complete enumeration of subsequent visits to Jerusalem, and the chief argument for the identification of Gal. ii. 1-10 with the Famine Visit disappears. And scrutinised more narrowly the Famine Visit seems not to satisfy the conditions. It is true that Paul mentions a private conference with "those of repute," presumably James, the Lord's brother, Peter, and John. And if this had been all, Luke might very well have omitted it in his account of the Famine Visit. But Paul's language implies that in addition to the private conference there was a discussion in which the Church generally was involved. There was obviously a heated controversy which centred around the person of Titus,<sup>1</sup> and the demand was pressed upon Paul that he should be circumcised.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, Paul asserts that he went

<sup>1</sup> I assume that the usual view is correct that the struggle about Titus took place at Jerusalem. F. Rendall, however, argues that it took place at Antioch (*Expositor's Greek Testament*, Vol. III., pp. 143-158). He thinks the aorist answers to the English pluperfect, 'Howbeit even Titus who was with me had not been compelled to be circumcised.' He regards this sentence as simply parenthetical. The reference to the false brethren in Gal. ii. 4 is then taken as a continuation of vv. 1 f., which asserts that it was on account of the mischievous activities of the false brethren at Antioch that Paul went up to Jerusalem. In v. 5 he proceeds to state that to these agitators neither he nor Barnabas had made the slightest concession at Antioch. In so desperately difficult a passage as this all suggestions should be welcomed; but, so far as I have observed, the view that the reference to the case of Titus is to a conflict at Antioch has met with no acceptance.

<sup>2</sup> It is not decisive against the identification with the Famine Visit, but it is at least an objection, that the occasion was not very suitable for raising a controversy as to the circumcision of Titus. Nor is it probable that on a mission of philanthropy Paul should deliberately have taken an uncircumcised Gentile to Jerusalem, and by this gratuitous challenge thrown the apple of



up by revelation to lay his Gospel of freedom before the authorities at Jerusalem ; whereas on the Famine Visit he and Barnabas were deputies appointed by the Church to carry alms to Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand the identification of the visit in Gal. ii. 1-10 with that of Acts xv. is favoured by a comparison of the two narratives, if we remember that Paul is writing with the inside knowledge of one who had been a party to the discussion and who was stating his own position as he saw it, while Luke describes the events as they appeared to the community in general. Paul is not concerned with the general assembly of the Church, though his language seems to imply that the larger body met ; much more important to him is the private conference at which the leaders of the mother Church recognised the vocation of himself and Barnabas and delimited their spheres of work. There is no inconsistency between the statement of Paul that he went up by revelation and of Acts that he and Barnabas were sent as a deputation by the Church. In this case the vision and the action of the Church were concerned with the same problem. And a revelation to Paul may well have accompanied the decision of the Church. The Famine Visit accordingly, if it is to be distinguished from that in Acts xv.,<sup>2</sup> is irrelevant to our discussion. We are simply concerned with the visit at which the so-called Apostolic Council was held. It must be conceded that Paul, in perfect good faith, is telling the story from his own point of view, and that if we had had the

discord into the Church. When the object of the deputation was to discuss the relation of the Gentiles to circumcision and the Law, as in Acts xv., it was perfectly appropriate to bring the issue out sharply by presenting it in a concrete case.

<sup>1</sup> In itself there is, of course, no reason why Paul should not have taken the opportunity of a philanthropic mission to discuss the Gentiles and the Law with the three leaders. But Paul's language implies that this was the primary object of his visit, and that it was undertaken in consequence of a revelation. There is no difficulty in combining this with Acts xv. 2, but assuredly it was not the primary object of the visit recorded in Acts xi.

<sup>2</sup> In order not to complicate the discussion unduly I refrain from discussing this point. What is vital in the view I am taking is that the visit recorded in Gal. ii. 1-10 is identical with that recorded in Acts xv. It would mitigate some difficulties if this were identified with the Famine Visit. In that case it would perhaps be preferable to accept the date given in Acts xi. But there are real difficulties about the identification, and if we reject it we must either deny the historicity of the Famine Visit, or recognise that Paul paid two distinct visits to Jerusalem, each for a distinct purpose.

account of Peter or James the impression of the incidents and the discussion might be modified. But be this as it may, it would be perilous to use the narrative in the Acts to discredit, or even to modify, the account given by Paul. Luke had no first-hand knowledge of the facts but was dependent on what information he could collect when in Palestine ; and as a Gentile he was less qualified to grasp the full significance of the events than a Jew would have been. Moreover, Paul's narrative, though written down later, seems to have been composed with a very vivid recollection of his feelings at the time. He lives through those painful hours once more while he puts the record of them on paper.

The allusiveness of the language is perhaps best explained on the hypothesis that he had already told the story to his readers. But whether this is the true explanation or not, the story is told in such a way that the action taken on the test case cannot be determined with certainty. Paul tells us that he took Titus with him. The suggestion seems to be that he selected him deliberately as an illustration of the results of his work and as a challenge to the Judaisers. He must have known perfectly well that a demand for the circumcision of Titus would be made as a condition of his admission to the fellowship. He must have deliberately intended the consequences of his act and determined to force the issue on a concrete case. If so, it is incredible that he should have surrendered the ground he had deliberately chosen or that he should have compromised his crucial principle by yielding on the individual case. It is well known, however, that some eminent scholars have argued that at this point Paul did yield to the pressure put upon him and consented to the circumcision of Titus.<sup>1</sup> But the better at-

<sup>1</sup> I may mention specially J. Weiss (*Das Urchristentum*, pp. 202-204), W. L. Knox, and F. C. Burkitt among recent scholars who have inclined to this view. W. L. Knox thinks that Paul and Barnabas made a somewhat serious error in underestimating the influence wielded by the Judaisers at Jerusalem, when they took Titus with them (p. 181). That he was not circumcised was known to the rulers of the Church but had not been made generally public. The author's reconstruction of what follows is admittedly "largely based on conjecture"; others will regard it as largely fanciful, like some other hypotheses in this elaborate and ingenious work. Some members became suspicious and discovered the truth in what Paul felt to be a grossly dishonourable way. A vigorous demand was made that Titus should be circumcised. Paul opposed it with equal vigour. To his disgust the autocratic Paul found that the Jerusalem leaders could not control their own followers.

tested text is entirely unfavourable to this, and to wring this meaning out of it would require a very unnatural interpretation of some of the expressions employed.<sup>1</sup> Those who adopt this view suppose that since Paul had won his case on the validity of his Gospel, it was urged by the apostles, who were with him in principle, that a graceful concession might be made in the individual instance. But it was precisely this concession which he could not afford to make. And if he had made it, it would have been very much more difficult for him to have so vehemently insisted that for the Galatians to submit to circumcision would be to forfeit their Christian freedom from the Law.

Paul's narrative accordingly may be interpreted in this way. He and Barnabas went up to Jerusalem fourteen years after his previous visit. Paul had chosen Titus, an uncircumcised Greek, to accompany them. The impulse for the journey, so far as he himself was concerned, was supplied by a revelation. Its object was to secure both his previous and his future mission from the risk of failure. By this he does not mean that he had any misgivings as to the truth of his gospel or thought that his seniors could correct any mistaken view

He had no choice but to submit and allow Titus to be circumcised that the unity of the society might be preserved. He was filled with the deepest indignation at this defeat; and the ineffectiveness of the leaders "considerably diminished his respect" for them. Mr. Knox admits that the opposite interpretation is not impossible (pp. 182, 189 f.). Prof. Burkitt, referring to "the circumcision of Titus by Paul," adds in striking language "for who can doubt that it was the knife which really did circumcise Titus that has cut the syntax of Gal. ii. 3-5 to pieces?" (*Christian Beginnings*, p. 118). The thought is that the incoherence of Paul's language is due to the bitter humiliation he felt as he remembered the concession which had been wrung from him. The great majority of scholars do doubt this account of it, and suggest other explanations. And naturally we must give proper weight to Paul's actual statements, which cannot without violence be accommodated to the view that Titus was circumcised.

<sup>1</sup>Eminent scholars, such as Klostermann and J. Weiss (Zahn also but with a curious interpretation) accept the text which omits the relative pronoun and the negative (*οἷς οὐδὲν*) getting the sense 'we yielded.' But the text without this omission is preferable. Those who accept it but hold that Titus was circumcised explain it to mean, we yielded, but not in the way of subjection, we freely made a gracious concession. And similarly the unambiguous phrase, as the unsophisticated reader would feel it to be, 'But not even Titus . . . was compelled to be circumcised' has to be strained to mean, Titus was circumcised, but not by any compulsion.

which he might hold.<sup>1</sup> He was indeed so certain of its truth that he pronounced an anathema on anyone who would preach another Gospel, even though it were as august as an archangel from heaven. But he was well aware how disastrous might be the consequences for his mission if a different form of the Gospel should be preached in the Gentile world with the prestige of the original apostles attaching to it. Had he failed to win them to his side he would no doubt have continued his apostolic labours, even if his unyielding attitude had cost him the comradeship of the more conciliatory and pliable Barnabas. But he realised how much he would be hampered if the leaders of the Church at Jerusalem, the apostles who beyond all others might be expected to know the mind of their Master, had thrown the weight of their influence against his presentation of Christianity. The situation called for very tactful handling. A larger meeting would have to settle the question; but to have thrown the whole question open in such an assembly without a previous consultation with the leaders would have been the height of folly.<sup>2</sup> Paul accordingly expounded his gospel to "those of repute," that is presumably to Peter, John, and James the Lord's brother. His contribution to their theological education led to no corresponding enrichment of his gospel by them.<sup>3</sup> They recognised that his success was a token of Divine grace and approval and gave to him and to Barnabas the right hand of fellowship with a general delimitation of spheres of influence. Paul and Barnabas were to take the Gentile world for their province, while the leaders on

<sup>1</sup> Paul's words are 'Lest I should run or had run in vain' (Gal. ii. 2). Mr. Knox says, "Gal. ii. 2 appears to mean that S. Paul would have been ready to change his attitude on this question if the older apostles could have shown that it was contrary to the teaching of Our Lord" (p. 189); also "Saul offered to revise his system, if it could be shown that it was contrary to that revealed by the Founder of the Church" (p. 182). All we know of Paul seems to me to rule out the idea that he would have admitted that his Gospel stood, or could stand, in need of revision.

<sup>2</sup> Some experience in the conduct of delicate negotiations might perhaps have saved some too academic interpreters from finding discrepancies where they do not exist.

<sup>3</sup> The words rendered in the R.V. "imparted nothing to me" (ii. 6) have been much discussed (see Burton's note for possible meanings). The compound verb seems to echo the simple verb in ii. 2. "I laid before them the Gospel which I preach among the Gentiles." Paul seems to mean that the leaders had no corresponding contribution of their own to make.



the other side were to work among the Jews. One request of a practical nature they made, that Paul and Barnabas should continue their philanthropic efforts for the poor saints at Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> During this time, presumably, the Judaisers were agitating for the circumcision of Titus. Paul's language implies that very great pressure was put upon him. It is not unlikely that the authorities at Jerusalem pressed him to yield the point. In things indifferent his temperament was conciliatory; but where principle was involved he was adamant. The result was a victory all along the line, though even after a long interval he cannot write without betraying a hot resentment at the tactics of his opponents and some resentment, not untouched I think with scorn, for the attitude of the Jerusalem leaders. It is the combination of these emotions which largely accounts for the broken and indeed incoherent style in the middle of the passage.

When we turn to the account in the Acts of the Apostles we read that Paul and Barnabas with their company were received by the Church, the apostles and the elders and related "all things that God

<sup>1</sup>Hans Achelis, whose discussion of the negotiations seems to me generally excellent, compares the collection for the poor with the Temple tax paid by Jews in the Dispersion. This would involve a recognition that the Christians in the Gentile mission were subordinate to James and the College of the Twelve Apostles. From this there followed the right of visitation of the Pauline Churches (*Das Christentum in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, 1912, pp. 47-49). This, I think, makes far too much of what was essentially a spontaneous expression of Christian philanthropy and brotherly love. The initiative in this had originally been taken by the Church of Antioch. It does not seem to have been a response to a claim that assistance to the mother Church might be rightfully demanded. The Apostles knew from experience the sympathetic interest of Paul and Barnabas and the Church at Antioch, and they appeal that their help may be continued. The point is of importance for the general situation. Achelis says that this subordination "was the price Paul paid; he accepted external dependence for internal freedom" (p. 47). But, he continues, not only did the concordat suffer from internal obscurities; it meant different things to the two contracting groups, and each emphasised the point on which it had got its way—Paul the internal independence of his mission, the tribute being just an external concession, Peter and James the attachment of the Pauline mission to Jerusalem and the acknowledgment of the primacy of the mother Church. K. L. Schmidt in his contribution to the *Festgabe für Adolf Deissmann* (1927), pp. 305-307 also puts the collection for the poor Christians at Jerusalem on a similar basis to the Temple tax, and thinks that the apostles felt themselves entitled to require it. He also discusses the scene at Antioch between Peter and Paul (pp. 307-309).

had done with them." Certain Christian Pharisees then insisted that the converts must be circumcised and instructed to keep the Law. The apostles and elders met to discuss the matter and after considerable debate Peter recalled the incident of Cornelius in which he had been chosen to announce the Gospel to the Gentiles. On that occasion God made no distinction between Jew and Gentile but cleansed their heart by faith. Why then, with that experience before them, should they tempt God by imposing a yoke on the disciples which they had themselves found too heavy to bear? For Jew as well as Gentile must be saved by the grace of the Lord Jesus. Peter's intervention secured a quiet hearing for Paul and Barnabas, who tactfully refrained from discussing the principle at stake and limited themselves to a recital of the signs and wonders wrought by God through them among the Gentiles. After this impressive demonstration that the Divine approval rested on their work, James pronounces the decision at which he thought the meeting should arrive. He recalls the incident of Cornelius, and quotes the Old Testament to show that the prophets had foretold the calling of the Gentiles. His judgment on the immediate problem is that they should not impose vexatious restrictions upon the Gentiles but enjoin them to abstain from pollutions of idols, from fornication, from what is strangled, and from blood. This meets with the approval of the apostles, the elders and the whole Church, and a letter is drafted to be sent to the Gentile Christians in Antioch, Syria and Cilicia. In this letter they disown the action of those who had troubled the Church at Antioch and explain that they had given them no such instructions. They have accordingly determined to send a deputation to accompany "our beloved Barnabas and Paul, men that have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." These representatives, Judas and Silas, will give them oral confirmation of the contents of the letter. The instructions themselves follow in these terms: "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things; that ye abstain from things sacrificed to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication; from which if ye keep yourselves it shall be well with you."

It is not to be wondered at that this account has occasioned much discussion. No objection can properly be taken to the arrangement for the debate itself. It was obviously best that the controversial side

of it should be restricted to the leaders of the Church at Jerusalem. Barnabas and Paul, and the latter especially, might easily have aroused resentment if they had dealt with the merits of the question ; the most effective contribution they could make was to enumerate the striking tokens of Divine approval by which their mission had been endorsed. And it was well that the final word should rest with James. If the decision was to be on the side of liberty it was appropriate that it should be suggested by the leader who could least be suspected of a tendency to undue liberalism. Yet the debate itself has aroused considerable discussion. Peter, it is said, stands entirely on Pauline ground, and if he had reached so clear an understanding of the crucial issues his subsequent attitude at Antioch leaves a stain upon his character. This is better left over till a later point.

The question as to the decree and the four prohibitions is one of the most tangled problems in the history of the early Church. There is in the first place a serious variation of text. According to the generally accepted text we have apparently three food prohibitions combined with one ethical. But there are very early and important witnesses which omit the reference to "things strangled." If this text is correct it is still possible to suppose that, apart from the ethical, we have two food prohibitions. But the removal of "things strangled" makes it possible to take all three as ethical, that is as prohibitions of idolatry, murder and impurity. Most of the authorities which make the omission read the Golden Rule in its negative form, "and whatsoever ye do not wish to happen to yourselves not to do to another," and after "ye shall do well" continue "being borne along by the Holy Spirit." Gotthold Resch, in 1905, published a very thorough investigation<sup>1</sup> in which he reached the result that the text which omitted "things strangled" and added the Golden Rule in its negative form was original. In this he had been anticipated by Hilgenfeld. This form is commonly spoken of as the Western Text. Harnack, who in 1899 had argued elaborately for the text with four prohibitions and without the Golden Rule (commonly called the Eastern Text), changed his view as a result of Resch's arguments, except that he took the Golden Rule to be a later insertion. In spite of some support, the verdict on Harnack's conclusion has been generally unfavourable.

<sup>1</sup> *Das Aposteldekret nach seinen ausserkanonischen Textgestalt.*

His arguments are given in his *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 193-196 (*The Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 255-259). They may be summarised as follows :—

(1) Elsewhere in sections dealing with the Gentile-Christian controversy Luke makes no reference to prohibited meats, but only to questions of capital importance, circumcision and the Law as a whole. (2) The combination of the prohibition of meats with that of fornication is unintelligible, not so that of idolatry, fornication, murder. (3) Food prohibitions form part of the Law, but it has just been said (xv. 19 f.) that nothing of the Law was to be imposed. Ethical prohibitions, it is true, were also in the Mosaic Law, but they were recognised as a part of the universal moral Law. (4) Why should just these abstinences from forms of food be regarded as essential, and the necessary condition of their doing well? This suits moral precepts. (5) "Things sacrificed to idols" is defined by xv. 20 where we read of "the pollutions of idols"; the reference is therefore to idolatry in general, and in xv. 29 the part is put for the whole. Participation in idol feasts is singled out for special mention as the crassest form of idolatry. (6) The prohibition of murder is not strange and superfluous, for the combination of the three elements depends formally on the Decalogue and the Two Ways; moreover there were refined forms of murder (exposure of children, infanticide, abortion, murder of slaves), and Jewish teaching held that murder included every injury to the life of one's neighbour, cf. 1 Peter, iv. 15, 1 John, iii. 15, Rev. xxii. 15, Jas. iv. 2. Irenaeus says that the heathen needed to be taught the very rudiments of morality. (7) No law against partaking of blood is to be found in the earliest Christian documents before the Epistle from Lugdunum. This Epistle is not based on the Apostolic Decree which was in that part of the world regarded as a code of ethical precepts. (8) The whole Western Church understood the decree as an ethical rule, even those who (like Tertullian) regarded the prohibition of blood and things strangled as binding.

There are, however, weighty arguments in favour of the generally accepted text. Resch is probably wrong in accepting the Golden Rule in its negative form as part of the original text. For it is introduced in the most awkward way possible between the relative pronoun and its antecedents. But if the Western text as generally attested (though Tertullian omits the Golden Rule) is wrong in its addition, it lies under



suspicion of being wrong in its omission. For the two hang together ; and although they may have originated separately, the more natural view is that both are connected with the attempt to change ritual into ethical prohibitions.

Further, in spite of what Harnack says, it can scarcely appear as other than extraordinary that the Gentile disciples should be told that nothing more would be required from them than to abstain from idolatry, murder and fornication. The reference to murder in particular is difficult to accept. It is hardly credible that it should be necessary to prohibit this in Christian Churches !

Moreover, it is hard to explain why the reference to "things strangled" was added if it was absent from the original text. It is much easier to think that it was dropped than to imagine the circumstances which would have suggested its insertion. As the conditions radically changed and the Judaistic problem became remote, it was not unnatural to drop the word and add the Golden Rule, and thus make of the decree a universally applicable moral rule ; whereas it is not easy to see why a moral should be changed into a ceremonial rule, when the circumstances which had made ceremonial regulations so important had for ever passed away.

The weight of the textual evidence lies on the side of the Eastern Text, though the evidence for the Western Text is undeniably important. It is possible, however, that the original text may have been without "and things strangled" and "the Golden Rule."<sup>1</sup> If

<sup>1</sup> So Ropes, *The Text of the Acts (The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I., Vol. III.)*. After his statement and discussion of the textual phenomena he continues : "The history of the text seems to have been as follows. In the East the decree was correctly understood in the second century and later to relate to food, and under the influence of current custom the text was at first expanded by the addition of *καὶ πνικτῶν*" (p. 269). Other scholars who regard the decree as containing food prohibitions think the reference to 'things strangled' is just an explanatory addition to bring out explicitly what was really involved in the prohibition of 'blood.' So Wellhausen, *Kritische Analyse der Apostelgeschichte*, 1914, p. 28; Preuschen, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 1912, p. 95. The latter leaves the possibility open that 'blood' was added to explain 'things strangled'; but in that case we should have expected some trace of the original absence of blood to have been preserved in the textual evidence. But probably neither should be omitted. Loisy says quite rightly that it is only from a theoretical and abstract point of view that the two terms appear as superfluous repetition. While from the point of view of Jewish ritual the prohibition of blood logically involves that of what is strangled,

so we should still interpret "things sacrificed to idols" and "blood" as food prohibitions and not as standing for idolatry and murder. The vague term "pollutions of idols" ought not to determine the sense to be put upon "things sacrificed to idols." Primarily the decree refers to meats offered to idols, as to which there was far more room for doubt in the Christian community than as to idolatry itself.<sup>1</sup> To turn from idols to a God of life and reality (1 Thess. i. 9) was among the very first requirements in missionary preaching, and to prohibit idolatry as such was quite superfluous. Further, the sense imposed by Harnack on "blood" is not that which naturally suggests itself. In view of the stress laid by the Jews on the strictest avoidance of any eating of blood, it is much the most obvious view that this is intended here.

We may conclude then that the text with four prohibitions is correct, three of these having definitely to do with forbidden forms of food, and that the difficulty occasioned by the conflict with the account in Galatians cannot be removed by the acceptance of the Western form of the text and interpretation of the prohibitions as ethical.

In Galatians Paul asserts that the 'pillar' apostles added nothing to him except the wish that he and Barnabas should remember the poor. Paul would not feel that the demand for abstinence from murder, idolatry and fornication was an additional requirement, since it would be taken for granted by all in charge of Gentile congregations. But the food prohibitions might be so regarded. W. Sanday argues that Paul gave a careless passive consent, "he was indifferent," but "would not stand in the way of an agreement that made for peace." It was addressed to a limited area, and in that area it may well have soon fallen into comparative disuse. It had a temporary success, but soon became a dead letter. "The tide of events ebbed away from it, and it was left on the beach stranded and lifeless—lifeless at least for the larger half of the Church, for that Gentile Church which soon began to advance by leaps and bounds."<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to believe that this is the true account. If the prohibitions were laid down and

yet from the practical, *i.e.* the culinary point of view, the distinction is quite justified (*Les Actes des Apôtres*, 1919, p. 587). E. Meyer (p. 187), and Jacquier (*Les Actes des Apôtres*, 1926, p. 458), also retain both terms.

<sup>1</sup> This is clear from the fact that Paul devotes so much attention to this question in 1 Corinthians. We could not imagine him discussing whether Christians might participate in idolatry.

<sup>2</sup> *Theologische Studien Theodor Zahn dargebracht*, 1908, p. 332.

accepted as terms of a concordat, Paul could scarcely have passed them by ; and certainly when the Epistle to the Galatians was written they could hardly have become a dead letter, at least if the account in Acts xxi. 25 is correct. Moreover, according to Acts xvi. 4 the decrees were delivered by Paul and Silas to the Churches of South Galatia to keep ; and these were probably the very Churches to which the Epistle to the Galatians was written. The statement may be incorrect, and certainly is so if the decree is fictitious or if it was enacted at a later time ; but if we are arguing for the historicity of Acts xv. 28 f., we can hardly take the line of assuming that xvi. 4 is incorrect.

Another objection is that if the question had been settled at Jerusalem and on the initiative of James, it is more difficult to understand the situation described in Gal. ii. 11-13. Peter and even Barnabas and indeed all the Jewish Christians except Paul, withdrew from communion with the Gentile Christians at Antioch, and withdrew under pressure of those who came from James. Some avoid this difficulty by placing the incident at Antioch before the Council at Jerusalem. This is a possible solution ; but that Paul should have inverted the chronological order is so contrary to the impression which his narrative makes upon us that I must regard it as highly improbable.<sup>1</sup> The best line to take in dealing with this difficulty is to argue that the compact at Jerusalem did not really cover the situation which subsequently arose at Antioch. The Jerusalem compact recognised that Gentiles did not need to accept the Law and circumcision in order to be regarded as genuine Christians and members of the Church ; but Jewish Christians were in the same position as before and might argue that, though they did not question the status of the Gentiles in the Church, they would yet compromise their own position by sharing table communion with them.

A further question is raised by Paul's silence with reference to the

<sup>1</sup> This was the view of Augustine, and in modern times it has been advocated by Schneckenburger, Zahn and C. H. Turner. It is interesting to compare Sanday's reaction to this suggestion with that of W. L. Knox. The latter brushes it aside contemptuously. It "hardly needs serious discussion" (p. 191). The former says: "I confess that to me this solution is so attractive as to seem almost probable. I certainly do not think that in any case it can be excluded. There is nothing to make the sequence in Galatians stringently a sequence of time" (p. 333).

decree when he dealt with the question of meats offered to idols. His general position was not so much at variance with the decree; but his silence needs explanation. It may be a sufficient explanation that he did not attach importance to its observance in his own churches, so far away from Jerusalem and under his own control. The letter from the Council was, it must be remembered, addressed simply to the churches of Syria, Cilicia and Antioch.

The fact, however, that these difficulties have to be explained has not unnaturally created a suspicion that no such decree was issued by the Council. This view may take different forms; the decree may be regarded as one of the redactor's countless fictions (so Loisy), or as historical but misplaced. The natural impression made by xxi. 25 is that the terms of the decree are here communicated to Paul for the first time. In that case the decree is historical; but made by the authorities at Jerusalem, for the observance of the churches to which it was sent, at some time during the period between the Council and Paul's last visit to Jerusalem. These churches may have been those of Syria and Cilicia. This solution has been adopted by several scholars. It would be easier to accept if the theory of J. Weiss were admitted that only Acts xv. 1-4, 12, relates to the Council held with Paul and Barnabas at Jerusalem, the narrative of which is preserved only in a fragment, while xv. 5-11, 13-33 belongs to another situation.<sup>1</sup> This, however, is a rather drastic expedient and it is perhaps better to recognise that no quite satisfactory solution of the difficulty has yet been discovered.

The next stage in the development was occasioned by a visit of Peter to Antioch and the subsequent arrival of some Jewish Christians who had been sent by James. It is supposed by some that they arrived in Paul's absence, but there is nothing to indicate this and the natural assumption is that Paul was in Antioch all the time. The unity of the Church was not infringed by the separation of the Jewish from the Gentile Christians in their table communion. But the arrival of the emissaries of James changed the situation for the worse. Intimidated by these strict zealots Peter withdrew from the common meal, and the leaven of his example spread rapidly till even Barnabas caught the infection. Then Paul before the whole Church expostulated with

<sup>1</sup> *Das Urchristentum*, pp. 195-197, 235-238. E. Meyer, on the other hand, regards the narrative as a unity and the decree, with four prohibitions, as authentic (pp. 185 ff.).



Peter. Peter had obviously been betrayed into inconsistency at Antioch. If his former unfettered fellowship with the Gentile Christians had been legitimate, then he was wrong in breaking off communion with them. The result of such conduct would either be that a split would develop in the Church itself, or that unity would have to be purchased by the submission of the Gentile Christians to circumcision and the Law. So Paul confronts him with the unanswerable question : If you, a born Jew, give up the Law and live like a Gentile, why do you insist that Gentile Christians should accept the Law and live like Jews ?

It is important to realise that the question at issue was not that which had been decided at the Council of Jerusalem. At this the Gentiles in the churches addressed had been exempted from circumcision and obedience to the Law. But nothing had been said as to the relation in which the Jewish Christians stood to the Law. In a purely Jewish church the members would go on keeping it. In a purely Gentile church they would be released from obligation to it. But the question had not been considered what course should be followed in a church with both Jews and Gentiles in its membership. The church at Antioch had solved the question by the abandonment of the scruples which would have prevented complete communion. Peter, who was temperamentally generous and impulsive, and who in principle had been brought into sympathy with Paul's standpoint, had followed his better instincts and shared in the full fellowship mindful, we may believe, of his vision and his visit to Cornelius. His retreat from this liberal attitude may be attributed partly to a deficiency in moral courage but partly also to the fact that he did not see his way in confronting this new problem with the same clearness as Paul. The exposition of principle which follows (Gal. ii. 15 ff.) is of such uncertain interpretation that it is impossible to discuss it in my space ; but Paul is defending the position that the Christian experience of justification carries with it the renunciation of the Law as necessary to salvation. Judaism confers no advantage, the practice of the Law creates no merit.

It is a singular misfortune that Paul drifts away from the scene at Antioch without telling us how it ended. On this very important question the most divergent views are taken. Presumably his readers were aware how the controversy had ended, just as they knew whether

Titus had been circumcised or not, so that inferences from Paul's silence on this point ought not to be too confidently drawn. Forgetful of this, some have argued that his failure to claim victory implies that he had been obliged to own defeat. Some have thought that Peter having no reply to make accepted his colleague's rebuke, or that he may have been silenced but not convinced. Some suppose that to relieve the situation he and the Judaisers went back to Jerusalem leaving Paul in possession of the field. Loisy believes that Paul found little support for his extreme views and soon abandoned Antioch as his headquarters, striking out now on an independent mission. It was the view of the Tübingen School that the collision created an irreparable breach between Peter and Paul; and Eduard Meyer, though at many points far removed from the Tübingen position, has revived this view.

There is indeed no certain answer to the question whether Peter or Paul remained in possession of the field at Antioch or indeed whether the result was inconclusive. It is, however, significant that in the later stages of the controversy between Paul and the Judaisers this issue disappears. We may perhaps infer that victory on this point remains with Paul.

Before passing on to the campaign against Paul conducted by the Judaisers in his own churches, it will be convenient to touch on the question how far Peter was personally engaged in the attack. E. Meyer supposes that Peter took the field against Paul and followed him into his churches.<sup>1</sup> In fact one is reminded of the activity of Peter as depicted in the Clementine literature where he is represented as following Simon Magus to confute his doctrine, expose his character, and neutralise his baneful activities. It is interesting that Meyer, unlike the Tübingen critics who made much of this literature in their presentation of the case, entirely rejects the view that Simon is at any point to be identified with Paul (pp. 301 f.). He affirms that the passion with which Paul attacks Peter in the Epistle to the Galatians clearly demonstrates that he and no other was the leader of the Judaistic agitation and that there can be no doubt that Peter himself visited the Galatian churches and resumed the conflict which had originated in Antioch (p. 434). It was the fact that the chief of the apostles led the attack on Paul which accounted for the rapid falling away of the

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 424-426, 432-436, 441 f., 455-459, 464, 493-500.

Galatians. So too with the Church of Corinth. Meyer has no doubt that Peter visited Corinth, and unquestionably with a swarm of adherents, in order to oppose the false teaching of Paul. It is to him incomprehensible how any one can doubt that Peter came to Corinth (p. 441). Here too the battle was fought with embittered passion. The opponents regarded each other not as apostles of Christ but as instruments of Satan (p. 459). Peter was also in Rome during Paul's imprisonment there. When he reached the capital is uncertain, but in all probability he was already there when Paul arrived. The absence of any greeting to him in the Epistle to the Romans or reference to him in Philippians or Colossians proves nothing to the contrary, since their personal relations were of such a character as to forbid all intercourse between them (pp. 497-500).

This reconstruction seems to me most improbable in itself and to rest on extremely slender support. That Peter ever visited the Galatian churches is a hypothesis confirmed by no shred of evidence. Paul's narrative of the collision at Antioch is amply accounted for by the way in which the Judaists pitted Peter's authority against his own. More, indeed, might be said for the supposition that Peter had visited Corinth. Others have argued for this from the fact that a party called itself by his name, as there were also parties of Paul and of Apollos who had both laboured in that city; but there is no tangible reason to suppose that the presence of such a party implies that Peter himself had been in Corinth. That Peter was in Rome before his martyrdom is probable; but that he was there when Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans or when he wrote Colossians and Philippians—assuming that they were written from Rome—is most unlikely. Meyer's argument for the opposite view is that in Col. iv. 10 Mark sends greetings, but since Mark was the "interpreter of Peter" his presence in Rome proves the presence of Peter. But really the passage, if used to support Meyer's hypothesis, proves altogether too much. For if Paul and Peter were at daggers drawn is it conceivable that Mark, Peter's trusted assistant, should have stood in such friendly relations with Paul? And if Mark was as inseparable from Peter as his shadow, why should he be contemplating a visit to Colossæ and be so warmly commended to the Colossians? Was Peter intending to visit Colossæ?

But apart from the flimsiness of the positive arguments the hypothesis is intrinsically improbable. It would do far too little honour to

the character of either apostle to suppose that the scene at Antioch had poisoned their relations so deeply and irretrievably. We have not the slightest proof that it led to a personal breach between them at all. But that for all the years which remained to them they were animated by such implacable hostility is in itself very difficult to believe. Peter may have been hasty and hot-tempered, but he strikes us as a generous soul, who would not harbour malice and who would be quite ready to admit that he had been in the wrong. All we know of Paul suggests that he too was magnanimous and incapable of nursing a grudge for the rest of a lifetime. And the way in which he refers to Peter in 1 Corinthians does not bear out Meyer's view. So high and unfettered an authority as Weizsäcker says on this point "Paul never mentions Peter except with the greatest respect" (*Apostolic Age*, Vol. I., p. 328).

Moreover, Paul's relations to the Church at Jerusalem are hard to reconcile with the attitude towards Peter which Meyer attributes to him. He pays one visit to Jerusalem after leaving Greece and salutes the Church (Acts xviii. 22). He organises with great care a collection in his churches for the poor saints of Jerusalem. In spite of prophetic warnings of disaster and his own forebodings, he insists on taking the offering to Jerusalem himself. He is received with gladness by the Christians of Jerusalem and has a friendly interview with James and the elders of the Church. Now these were the men who, even more than Peter, represented the extreme Judaistic tendency among the responsible authorities. James was, in fact, partly responsible for the conduct of Peter which had brought about his collision with Paul. How are these friendly relations possible with Mark and with James, if for years there had been this bitter feud between Paul and Peter? Moreover, the later references betray no consciousness of this antagonism. Paul and Peter are represented as fellow-labourers and fellow-sufferers who by their combined efforts built up the Church in Rome. We need have no hesitation then in setting aside this theory of irreconcilable antagonism between the two apostles.

We must now return to the developments which followed on the public rebuke to Peter at Antioch. The date of this was presumably in the interval between the return from the council at Jerusalem and Paul's departure with Silas on a fresh missionary tour. For it is scarcely likely to have been later than the rupture between Paul and



Barnabas which led to their separation, since it is questionable if they were ever together again at Antioch. The dispute which led to their separation was, we may well suppose, so sharp as it was because Paul had been deeply annoyed by the defection of Barnabas, while Barnabas might not unnaturally resent the public castigation of Peter which affected all who had followed his example. In itself, however, this had not led to an estrangement, since Paul himself proposed that they should revisit their churches and Barnabas consented to do so. But for the difference about Mark the earlier episode would probably have had no permanent results. But this difference, acting on the suppressed irritation with each other, precipitated the rupture. Distressing as the separation was, it was perhaps all to the good, since, hampered by his senior colleague, Paul might never have struck out into new fields as he did.

The controversy seems to have broken out first in Galatia. That Peter visited the Galatian churches and initiated a campaign against Paul we have already seen to be highly improbable. But Judaising agitators had invaded the Church. They professed a warm interest in Paul's converts, they fascinated their simple susceptible victims who now desired to be under the Law, to submit to the rite of initiation into the Jewish covenant. Misguided simpletons ! do they not realise that to accept circumcision is to renounce all benefit from Christ, to surrender their Christian freedom, to commit themselves to a complete fulfilment of the Law ? They made an excellent beginning in the Spirit, and are now seeking perfection in the flesh ! Faith had supplied them with all that they needed, why turn aside to the Law by which no man can be justified ? So strongly does Paul feel on this perversion of the Gospel that he launches his solemn and repeated anathema against any, be it himself or an angel from heaven, who should dare to pervert it.

But intimately associated with this attempt to impose on his converts a new version of the Gospel, was an attack on the apostle himself. His peculiar position lent itself easily to malicious misrepresentation. His opponents could urge with plausibility and force that the obvious source for an accurate knowledge of the true teaching of Jesus was the band of apostles whom He had trained during His lifetime. Certainly it was not to be learnt from an upstart like Paul, who had begun his career as a persecutor, and who owed whatever correct

information he possessed on the subject to the genuine apostles. Where he diverged from them or added to them he was simply perverting by his own fancies the genuine truth as it was taught by Jesus. His claim to be an apostle was entirely illegitimate.

In his reply Paul begins by affirming his apostleship derived directly from Christ and God. He next asserts the independence of his Gospel. He had received it from no human source but by revelation from Jesus Christ. Till the time of his conversion he had been a persecutor of the Church and wholly devoted to the Jewish religion. Then God, who had from his birth set him apart for His service, revealed His Son within him. The Divine intention in this had been that he should preach Christ among the Gentiles. But instead of returning to Jerusalem to those who had been apostles before him he had gone away into Arabia and then returned to Damascus. We are probably to understand that during this period he had been preaching, so that his message was clearly not derived from the earlier apostles. Having thus secured the independence of his teaching, he went up to Jerusalem and stayed with Peter for a fortnight. Of the other leaders he saw none with the exception of James the Lord's brother. After this brief stay he left for Syria and Cilicia to prosecute his work and remained unknown to the Judæan Churches.

Paul has thus completed his proof of the independence of his Gospel, and for this purpose an account of any further visits to Jerusalem is irrelevant. With the second chapter he passes on to a new stage in his argument. He now proceeds to show that his presentation of the Gospel was endorsed by the leaders of the Church at Jerusalem who had no addition to suggest to it, who recognised his mission among the Gentiles, and gave to him and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship. He then advances to a third stage and relates how when Peter had been intimidated by the strict Judaists and had been followed in his retreat from the gospel of freedom by the other Jewish Christians and Barnabas, he had pressed home on Peter his inconsistency and demonstrated that justification came not by the law but through faith.

The Acts of the Apostles preserves no record of this Galatian episode and we are not definitely informed as to the issue. Some uncertainty must rest on the matter owing to the uncertainty of the date to which the Epistle should be assigned. But the probability that Paul won the churches back to their allegiance is great. The very

preservation of the Epistle favours this; and at a later date, as it would seem, Paul speaks of the churches in Galatia as sharing in the collection for the poor Christians at Jerusalem (1 Cor. xvi. 1, cf. Acts xx. 4).

We must now turn to the condition of things in the Church of Corinth. According to the usual and probably correct view there were four parties in the Church of Corinth calling themselves by the names of Paul, Apollos, Peter and Christ. We are not concerned with the first two of these. The party of Peter was probably composed of Judaizing Christians who had possibly been in personal contact with Peter, but in any case appealed to him as the real leader of the Church. They do not, however, appear to have followed the tactics adopted by the agitators in Galatia. They did not, it would seem, insist on circumcision and submission to the Law. The real significance of the "Christ party" has been much debated, and despairing of reaching any tenable interpretation some have resorted to the expedient of striking out the words "and I of Christ." So drastic an expedient, however, is scarcely required by the real difficulty of the phrase. I do not feel that I can accept any view with confidence but I may repeat what I have said elsewhere: "Possibly the party consisted of those who had known Jesus during His early life, though we should perhaps have expected, 'I of Jesus' rather than 'I of Christ.' Possibly their watchword expressed their dislike of the position accorded to human leaders, and disowned every leader but Christ. Since, however, this intrinsically sound attitude apparently falls under the same blame as the rest, they must have asserted their freedom from partisanship in a partisan way."<sup>1</sup> But there is nothing in the First Epistle to justify the view that there was any specifically Judaistic agitation in Corinth at this time. In 2 Corinthians the presence and activity of the Judaizers in the Church of Corinth is evident. It is especially in the last four chapters (x. i-xiii. 10) that the references to them occur. These chapters probably form part of the severe Epistle sent to Corinth as Paul's ultimatum to the Church which caused him so much anxiety when it had been sent, as he relates in 2 Cor. i-vii. He does not mince his words in speaking of his opponents. They are "false apostles, deceitful workers, fashioning themselves into apostles of

Christ." They preach another Jesus and impart a different spirit. They are the ministers of Satan. They taunt the apostle with the courage he displays in his absence and the humble tone he adopts when he is face to face with the Church. "His letters, they say, are weighty and strong ; but his bodily presence is weak and his speech of no account." His refusal to accept any support from them was explained in a sinister way. His failure to visit Corinth, as he had promised, is set down to cowardice. They do not seem to have put circumcision and the Law forward as had been done in Galatia. These requirements they probably kept in reserve, meaning first to undermine the authority of Paul and then to press them on the Church.

Paul's reply is unparalleled in his letters. Nowhere else in his correspondence can we match the wealth of irony, sarcasm and invective. If his other letters could be characterised as weighty and strong, this letter goes far beyond them in these features. But his exasperation with his opponents is combined with mingled feelings towards his converts. They do not escape the lash, but the love which Paul feels for them finds tender expression. And though he is too proud to vindicate himself except with reluctance, yet he feels that he is forced to meet the depreciation, falsehood and innuendo of his critics by a detailed statement of his labours, his sufferings and the visions and revelations by which he has been favoured. So eminent indeed had these been that a tormenting physical affliction had been Divinely sent that he might not be unduly exalted. He deserved better from his converts than he had received from them. It is to him that they owe their knowledge of Christ and yet they are treating him with less consideration than they give to his enemies. He has been no burden to them nor will he be ; rather will he spend his substance and himself in their service.

This letter brought the majority at least of the Church back to its allegiance and this glad news brought by Titus restored to the distracted apostle the peace of mind which he had lost since the letter went irretrievably out of his hands. That it was preserved by the Church is further proof that it had not failed of its desired effect.

There are echoes of the controversy in the Epistle to the Romans written about the same time. The systematic exposition of his doctrine is conditioned by the controversy, and at various points explicit



reference is made to the criticisms and even the slanders of his opponents. The community to which the letter was addressed seems to have consisted for the most part of Gentile Christians, though it would naturally contain some Jewish Christians or proselytes. At the close he refers to those who cause divisions and occasions of stumbling contrary to the doctrine which the readers had been taught. He charges them with self-seeking and with beguiling the simple by their insinuating speech. It is the Judaisers, presumably, whom he has in mind.

After the writing of this Epistle Paul carried out his purpose of visiting Jerusalem, taking the collection for the poor Christians of the mother Church, to which he had devoted so much attention. He had a friendly reception from James and the other authorities of the Church ; but in view of the reports which were in circulation about him that he taught the Jews in Gentile communities to refrain from circumcising their children and observing the Jewish mode of life, they suggested that he should participate in the completion of a Nazirite vow which had been taken by four Christian Jews and thus demonstrate the falsity of the rumours and his own adhesion to the Law. They communicated to him the four prohibitions which, in the Apostolic Decree, they had imposed on Gentile Christians. Paul accepted this advice, and on the false suspicion that he had taken a Gentile, Trophimus, into the Temple he was seized in the Temple and, but for the intervention of Claudius Lysias, the chief captain, he would have been killed. We are not concerned with his trouble with the Jews, but he was kept in confinement for two years and on appealing to Cæsar was sent to Rome. His reception by members of the Roman Church was friendly, from which we may infer that the Church was not, under Peter's influence, dominated by hostility to Paul.

In the Epistles generally believed to have been written by Paul from Rome it is only in Philippians that we have an attack on the Judaisers. This occurs in a section iii. 2-iv. 1 which has been thought by several scholars to be a fragment of another Epistle.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the Epistle to the Philippians itself has been believed by some

<sup>1</sup> K. Lake, *Expositor*, June, 1914 ; A. H. McNeile, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 1927, pp. 166-168 ; J. H. Michael, *Philippians*, in the "Moffatt New Testament Commentary," 1928, pp. xi f., Professor Michael argues that the interpolation ends with iii. 19.

authorities to have been written at Cæsarea. To add to our uncertainties the theory is rapidly growing in favour that the Epistle to the Philippians was written during Paul's stay at Ephesus and belongs therefore to the same period of his life as the letters to Corinth and Rome.<sup>1</sup> If the generally accepted view is correct it would seem either that Paul had been specially provoked by the Judaisers in Rome itself or had received some intimation that his readers might experience trouble from them. It is in favour of the former view that earlier in the Epistle he complains of those who preach Christ out of envy and strife, hoping by their factious conduct to make Paul's lot in his imprisonment more burdensome to him. In any case the outburst in Phil. iii. 2-iv. 1 is one of the fiercest which has come to us from his pen. He describes the Judaisers as dogs and evil workers, enemies of the cross of Christ, with their minds set on earthly things, self-seekers who are destined to perdition.

We know nothing in detail of any further conflict with the Judaisers. Whether Paul's imprisonment in Rome closed with his release or his execution is still in dispute. In any case his race was now nearly run. We cannot overestimate the service which in his steadfast struggle with the legalists he rendered to Christianity and the Church. But for his clear insight into the grave issues which were at stake, his freedom from the fear of men and undue deference to authority, his courage and tenacity, the new religion might have been fatally stranded in a backwater of Judaism. It was of great moment that before the destruction of Jerusalem he had disengaged Christianity from Judaism and liberated Gentile Christianity from the bondage of the Law. That the Church has but imperfectly learnt the lesson its

<sup>1</sup> Two points are involved: (a) Did Paul suffer an imprisonment during his residence at Ephesus? (b) Was Philippians written during that imprisonment? E. Meyer (p. 482) says the hypothesis of an Ephesian imprisonment rests simply on modern invention, but it has gained a considerable vogue in recent years. See in particular the elaborate list of books and articles in Deissmann's *Paul*, second ed., pp. 17 f. For the English reader the best discussion is probably C. R. Bowen's *Are Paul's Prison Letters from Ephesus?* in the "American Journal of Theology" for 1920. Those who believe that Paul was imprisoned at Ephesus are not agreed as to whether all the Imprisonment Epistles were composed during that confinement, and if not all, then which? A. H. McNeile (*op. cit.*, pp. 170-172), and in much fuller detail J. H. Michael (*op. cit.*, pp. 12-21), have recently advocated the view that Philippians was written by Paul while in prison at Ephesus.

greatest theologian taught it is only too evident from its history ; but in his glorious writings we can still refresh our spirits and renew our flagging energy. Across the centuries which separate us from him we can still hear his ringing challenge : " For freedom did Christ set us free, stand fast therefore and be not entangled again in a yoke of bondage."

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AN EPISODE IN THE MINISTRY OF THE REV.  
HENRY NEWCOME, AND HIS CONNECTION  
WITH THE REV. RICHARD BAXTER.

BY F. J. POWICKE, M.A., PH.D.

THE episode was Newcome's invitation to settle at Shrewsbury, and Baxter's support of Shrewsbury rather than of Manchester which wanted him at the same time, and Shrewsbury's importunate urgency, and the months of anxiety which this occasioned him before he came to a final decision. Details of the story are contained in Newcome's "Autobiography" (pp. 57-67), and in a series of letters at the end (pp. 324-333, 338-351, 355-360, 363-372). My personal interest centres chiefly in the four Baxter letters which are among his best, and illustrative of some of his best qualities. For this reason I have quoted them in full. But along with this the details, as a whole, blend in a vivid picture of the motives which swayed the conduct of two or three fairly average congregations of Puritan saints in their mutual relations. It is diverting and very human and modern. Then as now, there were rivalries and jealousies and bargainings, veiled by pretensions of doing all to the glory of God. But, then as now, there was, in many, a sincere desire to see and follow the right path; and Newcome, especially, stands out well in this light.

He was twenty-nine and had been at Gawsorth nearly six years<sup>1</sup> when, having received a letter from Colonel Hunt of Shrewsbury inviting him to preach there, he resolved to go, and set out on Tuesday, June 3, 1656. He arrived on Thursday, the 5th, preached the lecture at St. Mary's<sup>2</sup> on the Friday; stayed over the week-end and preached twice at St. Alkmund's<sup>3</sup> on the Sunday; and returned

<sup>1</sup> From April 8, 1650 (A., p. 18).

<sup>2</sup> This was the Collegiate Church and its minister, since 1653, had been Rev. Francis Tallents. The Lecture was an old Puritan institution, attached to it, and dating from 1579.

<sup>3</sup> The minister, since 1650, was Rev. Richard Heath.

on the Monday by way of Wem 'where met several ministers of those parts to advise about personal instruction, the business which precious Mr. Baxter had set on foot at that time.'<sup>1</sup> Shrewsbury at this time was the Queen of the Midlands and, with some reason, thought much of itself. Manchester, by comparison, was inferior in population and certainly in beauty. Since its capture by the Parliamentary forces in February, 1645, it had become a Puritan stronghold. Its five parishes were all served by ministers of distinction, more or less Presbyterian in the loose English sense of that term—all except St. Julian's, which had been vacant since the retirement of Rev. Richard Lee in 1655, and for which Mr. Newcome was designed. This was 'much out of repair and no means belonging to it'—a fact which did not prepossess him in its favour. But the Rev. Thomas Paget, minister of St. Chad's, the largest parish of the town, was supposed to be on his last legs (near the end of his life, or at least his work) and then Newcome, it was said, might be sure of his place! A distasteful sort of prospect. What the people of St. Julian's wanted was a rousing preacher—unlike the other four solid dignitaries. And he was much more than a rousing preacher. If we may trust the witness borne to him at his death he must have been a preacher of extraordinary distinction. According to Mr. Bagshaw of Shirley his 'stature and face were comely.' According to Mr. Chorlton, his colleague, 'His sermons were plain and discursive, and full of holy zeal and fervour; but withal so embellished with notable maxims and curious observations, so illustrated with pat similitudes and examples, and delivered with such a propriety, facility, and fluency of expression, and with so graceful a mien and gesture, as rendered the plainest matter no less acceptable than it was necessary. Not did he only entertain his hearers with what was good in itself, but with what was seasonable and proper.' And according to Dr. John Howe, he had 'eloquence without any labour of his own, not imitable by the greatest labour of another. O the strange way he had of insinuating and wending himself into his hearers' bosoms! I have sometimes heard him when the only thing to be regretted was, that the sermon must soon be at an end.'

No wonder, then, if the people of Shrewsbury were carried off their feet! And he himself was looking out for a change. Gaws-

<sup>1</sup> Personal instruction by the ministers of their flocks was the great work Baxter called for in his "Reformed Pastor" (1655, etc.).

worth was pleasant to him, but he had four children and (one fancies) a not too careful wife, and his income fell considerably behind his outlay. This was his great disabling trouble—a trouble but little relieved by occasional generous gifts.<sup>1</sup> It brought him even to the humiliation of consulting with the Cheshire Classis. ‘Monday, May 5th (1656). At the Classical meeting at Knutsford, there was some discourse with both the Mr. Langleys and Mr. Hall about my sad case. It is my great sin and weakness that ever I should occasion this consultation. The grounds of it reflect sorely upon me.’<sup>2</sup> The people who seemed slowest to perceive his straits were those of his own congregation. He had the tithes, and it did not occur to them that their real might be much less than their nominal value. In point of fact, it was. And the danger of losing him, at last brought this home to them. ‘They offered to view the tithes, and unless they could clear near an hundred pounds<sup>3</sup> a year, they would not urge me to stay.’ Newcome had told them that *he* could not make £100 out of them; and they discovered that he was right. But, though not urging him to stay, they were very loathe for him to go, and in view of their grief he came to a resolution to ‘sit down’ at Gawsorth for another year. The receipt, about the same time, of several very liberal gifts from friends seemed to assure him that he was right—though, if he had all too little to pay his way, it is strange to find him spending ‘a good deal of money’ in repairing the parsonage and house.’<sup>4</sup> The date was September. He felt secure for the winter and was ‘settling,’ when there befel an ‘unthought of’ disturbance of his equilibrium in the shape of a letter from Mr. Baxter. He had heard from him several times before and presumably had written to him. He was one of the three or four men whom it had been (in 1652) his ‘great ambition’ to see.<sup>5</sup> Probably Baxter more than any of them stood for him as a ‘man of God,’ qualified to speak with authority. And now on the studious calm of this September morning (the 20th) comes a letter which compelled him to do what he had not wished to do—face the question of Shrewsbury. Baxter, of course, had a special right to

<sup>1</sup> A., pp. 61 and 297.

<sup>2</sup> A., p. 297.

<sup>3</sup> £100 then would have the purchasing power of nearly £1000 now.

<sup>4</sup> He ‘pointed and mossed it round’ and made ‘some convenient alterations’ inside. Perhaps these had become a necessity.

<sup>5</sup> A., pp. 34, 35.

speak where Shrewsbury was concerned. No further proof of this is needed than the Dedication of Part IV. of "The Saints' Everlasting Rest," 'to my dearly beloved friends in the Lord, the inhabitants of the Town of Shrewsbury, both Magistrates, Ministers and People, as also of the Neighbouring Parts . . . as a Testimony of his Love to his Native Soyl, and to his many Godly and Faithful Friends there living.' The very fact of his advising Newcome to decide for Shrewsbury if he could implied a high compliment. He would have given no such advice to one of whose ministerial ability and character he felt any doubt. His opinion of Shrewsbury as needing and deserving the best had much to do with bringing Mr. Bryan to the Abbey in 1652<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Tallents to St. Mary's in 1653.<sup>2</sup> He must have ranked Newcome, therefore, with these, or somewhere near their level, before wishing him to join them.

His letter was as follows :—

"REVEREND SIR,

"Though I am a stranger to you, and unmeet to meddle in your affairs, yet at the request of some friends in Shrewsbury I shall presume to offer you their thoughts and mine own. I understand by them with how much approbation you preached among them, and that they have earnest desires, if lawfully it might be accomplished, you might be settled with them ; and supposing your condition such as may warrant your entertainment of some further considerations concerning a remove, they have importuned me to invite you to such consideration. Their desire is that you would take up with about £80 or £100 per annum for a while, that you may be ready to succeed Mr. Paget (who is old and sickly) if God shall so order it, in the greatest congregation, where there is a fuller maintenance. If you are not resolutely immoveable, I shall only desire you to consider that God's interest in us is the greatest, and that the interest of the universal Church in us is far greater than that of a particular church ; and that public good is to be regarded before any private ; and that it concerneth the public good of the church and the interest of the Christ that great places be provided for before country villages ; not only because of the many souls

<sup>1</sup> See my "Life of Baxter," Vol. I., p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> See his letter to Tallents, then Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. ["History of Shrewsbury" (1825 anon.), Vol. II., 379-380.]



that are there, but also because of the concourse thither, and because of the influence they have upon the country about. Though it be a real good that men seek to themselves, yet when the private good is preferred before a public good, self-seeking becometh a great sin, and so self-denial is that great duty so much called for by God. And is it not, then, a sin of the same nature to prefer the good of a small congregation before a much more public good? The evil that Moses and Paul could have submitted to for Israel's good, doth unquestionably tell us thus much that public good is to be preferred incomparably before private, though our own. We had the last week here<sup>1</sup> such a case debated by near twenty ministers: whether a neighbour minister (most dear to us) should remove from a people that dearly love him, and have abundantly profited by him, and live in order, and under the exercise of discipline, and never discouraged him, to a great market town, where is a bad people, and he is like to lose in his estate by the remove; and they all judged that he ought to remove (except one). There is not in this part of England a more considerable place, more like to encourage a worthy man. If you say they are well provided for already, I answer, through God's great mercy they are, in many respects. They have very godly, humble, peaceable, judicious ministers. But though I abhor to detract from the reputation of those worthy men, I may tell you (in secret) what the people say—that it is a thousand pities but such a place as Shrewsbury should have one that hath a lively, convincing, awakening way of preaching, and is more eminently fitted to the conversion of souls—though they highly reverence those that are more fit for building up. I confess to you, that I have oft thought that the very removing of ministers to places most suitable, that all the greatest may be best provided for, is a very considerable piece of reformation. Offences that happen on such removals, if the business be well managed, may be much prevented, and the rest will soon be over; and somewhat (when it is taken by men's weakness) must be borne. Sir,—I only desire your serious review of the business, and be loath to persuade you in the least from your duty; nor would I have troubled you this far, notwithstanding the desire of friends, but that I apprehended the public good concerned in it. I pray you burn this, and let none know that I wrote to you in

<sup>1</sup> Kidderminster.

the business. And if you incline to any further treaty about it, make known your wishes to Mr. Rowland Hunt, jun., son to Colonel Hunt (to whom you may only intimate the receipt of this.)

“Sir, Pardon this interpolation from

“Your brother

“R<sup>L</sup>. BAXTER.”

Newcome received this letter on September 20th and answered it on the 27th. After an expression of gratitude he at once goes on to lay down his case in general, and then with reference to the particular matter of a removal. As to the former his recital is interesting. “I have been here settled at Gawsworth now going upon seven years ; where it hath pleased God to give me some success in my poor labours, little in comparison of what I could desire, yet more than many of my precious brethren here about me have had. Yet not so very many within the compass of my own parish, as to others that have congregated with us from other places ; many from far, from places where the ministers are honest.” This enlargement of his audience by wanderers from the ministry of other honest, *i.e.* orthodox and godly men, but perhaps dull preachers, has troubled him. Ought he to discourage them ? He would be glad of Baxter’s opinion on the point. But his pulpit success has gone along with something more solid. He has been free to set up the Presbytery and to order the congregation ‘according to the rules of the government’ and to observe the Lord’s supper and exercise discipline.

Such freedom, it appears, was enjoyed by but few other congregations in the neighbourhood, and was a great comfort to the godly. On the other hand, his straitened means counsel and almost compel removal. He cannot count upon more than £60 a year, though the nominal value of the rectory is much more ; he has four children and is likely to have more ‘of these blessings’ ; and is hampered by a debt or debts contracted at the outset of his pastorate, what he calls a ‘cast behind in the world.’<sup>1</sup> ‘The troubles and hindrance’ which he has found in his work have been ‘considerable,’ and he feels bound to consider them. Yet he is summoned to patience by the fact that his people think they can raise his stipend to £100 a year, and by the further facts that there are circumstances which might lead to a double

<sup>1</sup> A., p. 22.

presentation if he left and to consequent disturbance of 'the people's comfort and the Church's interest.' This more than anything else makes him pause. Still, suppose he should decide to remove after all, is Shrewsbury the place for him? He is very doubtful. For one thing he is conscious 'of great unfitness for a great charge.' 'I believe, if you knew me, you would blame their judgment that presented you with another account of me. I do really profess to you, that I know myself to be far defective in learning and parts of many other men. I am not yet thirty years of age. I did not spend past three of these in the University. I can, at leisure, bewail my hasty entrance into this great employment; which, who is sufficient for? For I have not, besides, the helps that many others have of a library; all which would soon be felt in one's constant ministry in a more judicious auditory.'

For another thing, he would fain remove into Huntingdonshire where he was born; where several of his brothers and friends are living who could and would help in his outward necessity; and where (strange to say) his labours find more acceptance than he could have expected? Might it not be well to await a call thither, if God should make way? And might not his going to dwell among his own people much take off the offence of Gawsorth at his removal?

For a third thing, while he is 'abundantly satisfied in the abundance of the precious people that are' at Shrewsbury, he cannot but take into account both the uncertain character of his maintenance according to the present outlook and also the high price of living in such a place. What, however, deters him most is this, 'Mr. Paget is too well known to be a man of much forwardness, and he might create much unquietness if I should come thither to another Church, with any intention of succeeding him.' Public talk of that intention, 'through the indiscretion of some honest men,' had much upset him during his recent visit and may have upset Mr. Paget's colleagues as well. At any rate their attitude to him had been reserved. 'I do not discern any forwardness, nor almost freedom, in the other ministers for my coming. I should hope, if God would have one thither, those ministers would be more earnest in it. It would be very sad for me to be there, where I should create any trouble to them, and should not have their hearty closing with me, and acceptance of me.' He confides this to Baxter as the chief reason of his reluctance towards Shrewsbury; and with a prayer to God for sure guidance and for a blessing

on Baxter's labours he brings a long and singularly ingenuous letter to an end.

This letter of September 27th did not reach Baxter till October 15th, and on the 18th he replied (from Kidderminster) as follows :—

“DEAR SIR,

“Though distance and disacquaintance with many circumstances of your case must needs make me far more unmeet to judge of your case than those that are about you ; yet, at your invitation, I take it for duty to speak my thoughts as guided by your information :—

“1. Though I had but £60 per annum I think I should not remove for more means for self or children, if that were all. God will provide ; and poverty of His sending is no dangerous evil.

“2. But if you are in debt to others there must be more care taken, that men may have their own ; and if you cannot pay them, you must take another course lest you be unjust.

“3. But if the place you are in be small, and God hath fitted you for a greater, where your labours may be much more useful, and have greater influence upon the country about, and whose welfare is of much more concernment to common good (which I apprehend to be the case) then I think it may do very much to your remove, for the apparent benefit of God's Church is the chief part of your case. And no people on earth have greater interest in you than the common good hath, *i.e.* than God hath. Their possession is not so good a title as to be pleaded against this. But seeing they consent, the case is the less questionable.

“4. You ought to do the best you can for the supply of the place where you are ; yet is it the people's care more than yours ; you may not on that account disappoint a greater work of God. Who knows how many years the suit may continue which you mention ? And it is ten to one but a word from your pen to the commissioners of approbation may keep out any unmeet men, and the people's endeavours may get in a fit one.

“5. I confess I take Shrewsbury for as convenient a seat as almost any in England. It is a place of public consequence, where you will have much comfort and assistance in your work from the people ; and if tithes should be taken away, you may have a fuller contribution than in any country village.



"6. For your abilities, I trust wholly to the reports of my friends in Shrewsbury, persons of so much judgment and fidelity, that I dare be confident.

"7. I would not have you come with any professed expectations of P.'s place, but, in writing, to let them know that for future changes you will leave all to God: it shall be none of your argument nor your care, and they will be never the less solicitous for you. But I would desire you might accept of the vacant charge (though small), and if you be desired to spend half your labour in one of the greater churches, to consent: if not, to preach, as oft as you can, in the country parishes about.

"8. At least £80 per annum you will have at present—I hope more; no doubt £100, if you join with any of the other ministers. And for the certainty" (= and certainly) "a man of your parts may expect so much interest, or a fuller maintenance, at a short warning elsewhere, if you were put to it, that *without* faith, methinks, you might be eased of that care, much more *with* <sup>1</sup> it.

"9. However, all men have frailties and the best are too selfish; yet three of the ministers are so eminently humble and honest, that if you be there, there is no question to be made of it, but you will have their hearty communion. If that will not serve you, I doubt not but you may have their gladness to receive you expressed under their hands, if you desire it.

"10. If you be not satisfied, let your neighbours or yourself (whoever is most against your remove) choose two ministers, and Shrewsbury two, and refer it to them (though a shorter, less troublesome course is better, if necessity urge not).

"The Lord direct you, and bless your (much approved) labours. Pardon the treaty of

"Your unworthy brother,

"R<sup>I</sup>. BAXTER."

It illustrates the vagaries of the ordinary Post in those days that the above letter written on October 18th took a fortnight to reach Gawsworth. It 'came to me' (says Newcome) on the Saturday, November 1st. On the next day came a special messenger with letters from Baxter and some of the Shrewsbury people, which bore

<sup>1</sup> Italics mine.

date the previous day, October 31st. Baxter's letter was the following —

“SIR,

“Being this night, by the Providence of our Father, at Shrewsbury, and having speeches with several godly people concerning you, I understand their earnest desires after you, which they have also desired me to signify to you, as they herewith will do themselves, by an invitation and an engagement which they offer to subscribe. The parish of Julian's desire you may be wholly theirs, and eight of them will be engaged for £100 per annum while you continue with them, which if you accept, it will yet be no such obligation on you as may hinder your removal to a greater place if opportunity be offered. I hope you will find much of God in this call. I should be glad to hear as much of your mind as you can conveniently express by this messenger, that I may know how to carry myself here in reference to the business before I return (which, if God will, will be on Tuesday). I doubt not of the minister's readiness to invite you (except Mr. Paget whom I have no mind to deal with about it, though, for aught I know, he also may consent). Had we but your consent first, we should soon try them, which we think unseasonable till we know your mind. Again, Sir, remember that the public good hath the greatest interest in you, and that the greatest probability of doing most good is your clearest call. I doubt not but you may find friends enow that will easily hinder a bad or unworthy man from succeeding you where you are. The Lord direct you, and dispose you for the greatest service of his Church.

“Your unworthy brother,  
“R<sup>I</sup>. BAXTER.”

‘The Town's Letter’ which accompanied this had six names attached. It ran :—

“Salop, October 31, 1656.

“REVEREND SIR,

“We inhabitants of the parish of Julian's in Shrewsbury, being destitute of an able faithful minister, and being satisfied of your worth and fitness, do earnestly entreat you to signify to us your willingness to accept the place as may encourage us to give a more general invitation by the consent of the parish. We doubt not to procure you

security for £100 per annum, and shall not invite you upon lower terms. Craving your yielding answer by this bearer, and the blessing of the Lord upon your labours,

“ We remain

THO. HUNT  
RICH. TWISSE  
J. BUTTER  
JOSEPH PROWDE  
HENRY HUGHS  
JAMES DOWNES  
JOHN JONES.”

“ SIR,

“ We had some intimation of a visit you intended ere long to your friends in our town ; and should your occasions so far dispense with you as to give Mr. Baxter the meeting upon Monday evening, before his departure which he intends on Tuesday, and is indispensable, we should take it as a special providence from God, and a singular favour from yourself.”

Newcome wrote a brief answer to Baxter on the same day (Sunday Nov. 2) to the effect that he had no time to think of the business but that if it were still insisted on he would refer it to divines to debate and be willing to be ordered by them.<sup>1</sup> Of the laymen's urgent note he appears to have said nothing unless a reference to it is implied in the words ‘ if it (*i.e.* the business of his relation to Shrewsbury) be insisted on.’ And, of course, the possibility of his getting to see Baxter on Monday evening was out of the question. But he engaged himself ‘ conditionally ’<sup>2</sup> so far as to promise a second visit, and he must have given them some encouragement in his letter to Baxter : for on Nov. 24 they wrote him another letter<sup>3</sup> in which they said that encouraged

<sup>1</sup> A., p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Signed by the seven of the 31st Oct. and 8 more—

Edwd. Woulfe  
Richd. Pearce  
Henry Hubbul  
Tho. Hayes  
Tho. Harris  
Geo. Dickin  
Nathaniel Lee  
Wm. Perry

by that he had written to Mr. Baxter, they had convened a meeting of the parish which was so enthusiastic for his coming that they could not but look upon him as one whom God in His providences designed for them. Moreover, the zeal for him was spread through the town and had also 'the joint consent of all the ministers.' In proof of this they enclosed a letter of the same date subscribed by the Mayor, two counsellors, and three ministers.<sup>1</sup> One sentence of the latter is this—'We have made bold to send unto you to entreat you, and we do earnestly request you, that you would resolve to come and make your residence at Shrewsbury, and help to carry on the work of the Lord there.' As to the ministers, they 'are ready with cheerfulness to give you the right-hand of fellowship in feeding the Church of God' along with themselves. In fine, the signatories seem to take it for granted that he is coming. No doubt they believed what the St. Julian people told them; and these had reached the point of believing not only that Newcome had no option but to comply with their wishes but also that their wishes were the will of God. So his promised visit, which they hope he will make as soon as convenient, is not by way of a further trial. They will welcome him no longer like a lady to be wooed but like a lady already won. Willy or nilly he has said yes and they mean to hold him to it. 'Though for your coming to settle among us we shall cheerfully expect till Lady Day,' (that is till the expiration of your living at Gawsorth on March 25) yet then you are ours. 'We have requested the bearer Mr. James Downes, to attend you in the name of us all, by whom you may be satisfied of anything you may find as a scruple.' A scruple or two—yes, naturally; but that Newcome could be restrained by the discovery of any 'lawful impediments' did not occur to them. And when they learnt from Mr. Downes, and from the letter he brought with him, that this was the case, they felt aggrieved, as people baulked of a fancied right are apt to do. Their letter of the 24th November was answered by a short one on the 26th. 'I have' (he says) 'writ the

<sup>1</sup> John Lowe—Mayor

Tho. Hunt )

Richard Bagot }

Richd. Heath, Pastor at Alkmond's

Fra. Talents, minister of Mary's

John Bryan, Pastor of the Abbey Church.

There is no sign of Mr. Paget.



whole case to Mr. Baxter.' He had stated it, also, to Mr. Downes ; and, while refusing to admit that he had ever given more than 'an hint of a possibility' of his coming to Shrewsbury, he let it be seen that the real impediment lay in the chance which had arisen of his going to Manchester.

He had preached (or lectured) at Manchester on Wednesday August 20, 1656.<sup>1</sup> At that time there was no vacancy. Mr. Heyricke and Mr. Hollingworth were in charge. But on Monday Nov. 3 Mr. Hollingworth died, and on the Wednesday, Newcome was surprised to receive 'a letter from some of the town about that place, to know my freedom in case I were elected.'<sup>2</sup> He returned a true answer that he was engaged to Gawsworth till March 25th, that he would not be free even then unless released by the Classis, and that he was under promise to preach again at Shrewsbury.

As it seemed likely that Manchester could not wait, he thought this answer would put them off. But at a meeting on Friday, Nov. 7th, he was nominated with two others. The other two were dropped and Mr. Heyricke declared plainly that, in the light of Newcome's letter, he could see no hopes of him. The meeting, therefore, was broken up and nothing done. But on the following Monday (10th) his friend Mr. Worthington called on him at Gawsworth ; and, having described the situation, asked him to write his mind to someone in Manchester. He wrote to Mr. Wollen, and implied his readiness to consider a call by asking information on three relevant points. No answer came to this till Nov. 18th (Tuesday) when a special messenger from Manchester arrived at Gawsworth with a request that he would 'come over to preach' (in the Collegiate Church) 'either the fast day, December 3rd, or the Sabbath day before, that the congregation might be satisfied in my voice etc.' He did not feel able to promise this, and again found reason for looking 'on the business of Manchester as over.' However it was not. On the 25th (Tuesday) he met Mr. Cookson at a Classical meeting at Knutsford, who so cleared things up that Newcome there and then undertook to preach at Manchester on the forthcoming Sunday (30th). 'But so evenly did they strike from Shrewsbury that this very night' when he got home he found Mr. Downes, with his letters, awaiting him. We may

<sup>1</sup> A., p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> A., p. 62.

picture the two sitting into the small hours to discuss the matter, and the amazed sadness of Mr. Downes as he begins to realize the vanity of his wishes, and Newcome's hurried writing of his letter to Mr. Baxter next morning—'Mr. Downes knows what straits of time I am in'—and its bearer's early departure so as to reach home the same day.

Mr. Downes wrote to Newcome on December 1st to acknowledge the kindness shown him in his visit, and to say that he had sent Newcome's letter to Baxter 'by a special messenger' and was now sending Baxter's answer 'by the bearer, Captain Hunt,' together with a letter from Mr. Hildersham and Mr. Tallent. He goes on—'your letter to our parish hath much saddened our spirits and indeed hath caused much heaviness in the hearts of all the godly in the town . . . our parish is not so small and inconsiderable as you suppose. I have made inquiry since I came home, and am told it is larger and more considerable than Mr. Heath's or Bryan's parish, and full as large as Mr. Tallent's, and we are sure lies under undeniable necessities above any place in our town, and far more than Manchester that is well furnished already, and may have supply enough round about them. We are altogether destitute, and have chosen yourself. The Lord incline your heart towards us that made the first choice of you before Manchester. Let us be first in your affections.'<sup>1</sup> Surely a good example of the sort of prayer which will not take 'no' for an answer—even from God!

Newcome's letter of the 26th Nov. to Baxter had described the new situation occasioned by the overture from Manchester. He is greatly perplexed. The election at Manchester is to take place on Friday, December 5th, and he must say definitely by the 4th whether or no he is free to stand. So far he cannot decide, though his judgment evidently dips towards the Manchester as against the Shrewsbury call. For

1. 'Manchester hath the greater necessity.' Mr. Heyrick, now in sole charge, is 'a weak man of body'; 'the congregation and charge' are 'exceeding great'; 'the town' is 'all in one parish and is conceived to be half as big as the whole of Shrewsbury; considering the supply

<sup>1</sup> 'We are thinking of a house for you' and how to ensure you an 'augmentation.'

that is at Shrewsbury, my coming thither could be but a kind of fuller supply ; here is a great room empty.'

2. 'The ministers here do generally concur in their releasement of me for Manchester.'

3. 'My own people are willing to have me go to Manchester, upon the account of nearness.' . . .

4. 'The place is not so high' (*i.e.* so dear) 'as Shrewsbury is' and so his stipend would go farther.

5. We (*i.e.* Heyricke and I) would be 'both at one Church' and so I should 'not be subject to any other's envy (which I am jealous of elsewhere).'

6. 'There is this only difficulty as to Manchester, and that is lest the Church should be too big for me. I am to preach there the next Lord's day' (the 30th) 'where the congregation and I shall have occasion to judge of that.' The preaching, however, is but once on the Lord's day and this would 'much help,' 'if I be forced somewhat to strain.' With this frank statement, he concludes, 'I desire your speedy answer by the bearer' (Mr. Downes) 'whether you think in case my voice serve, and I be elected for Manchester, I may upon the premises close with it. And if you so judge it be the mind of God, I desire you will satisfy our friends in Shrewsbury to submit to it.' He adds 'if it miss, I feel myself still very full of scruples in respect of Shrewsbury.'

At the earliest possible moment (November 28th) Baxter wrote the following comprehensive reply :—

"DEAR BROTHER,

"I must needs condole the loss of the Church at Manchester, which hath occasioned your straits ; and I cannot be but sensible of my own unfitness to give you any such clear or confident advice as may do much to help you out of it : for I know not Manchester, nor have heard any of them speak ; and, if I had, yet I conceive the case would be so difficult that I durst not be peremptory.

"Yet I hope these straits will not be enabled by you to disquiet and much trouble your mind, but you will rather rejoice in the choice of opportunities for serving your Lord.

"Truly, I durst not say a word to draw you to Shrewsbury, if I thought it more for the public good that you went to Manchester.

“Once the displeasing task of disappointing Shrewsbury of a much desired minister (Dr. Bryan) fell to my share. And I could not refuse it you if I thought it the will of God. I have besought the Lord that I may not be instrumental to mislead you, or to persuade you to a way that God is against. But, upon the best consideration I find myself able to use of the call, as by you stated . . . I should, knowing no more of Manchester than you tell me, rather make choice of Shrewsbury. My reasons are these conjunct :—

“1. Of the two it is the more public place, and of further influence ; though, I believe, the other is very considerable.

“2. The parish is competent ; neither considerably too big, nor too little. They tell me it is bigger than Alkmond’s or the Abbey, and yet the Church (place) the smallest, which will ease your voice : whereas Manchester, it seems, is very great. What your voice or strength is, I know not ; but you are but a man, and these two things I can boldly tell you (*a*) that I myself had once as naturally persuading and moving a voice as most men had (others being judges), and the great Church at Coventry, forcing me to raise it to the highest, did so deprive me of the command and familiar use of it, that it was quickly fixed in an ineffectual reading tone, which I never since could overcome ; (*b*) that it is a common thing for men of thin bodies and sharp humours to break a vein in such extensions of their voices ; and it is ten to one they are dead, or a hundred to one past preaching.<sup>1</sup>

“3. It is much, in my eye, that at Manchester you shall preach but once a day, which will be a great hindrance (in probability) to the measure of your success. Two sermons in such a place as Julian’s is like to do more than one there.

“4. So great a place as Manchester will lay a very burthen on you for private oversight and personal instruction (if you are therein of my opinion) which yet I should not stick at, if you could well go through it.

“5. I never yet knew any very great place but there are many poor, and great expectations of liberality from the minister. And indeed, if something be not done this way, it will be an exceeding impediment to your success ; and among multitudes a great deal is nothing. Between you and me, I may say that, in a smaller place,

<sup>1</sup> Ten to one it kills them or a hundred to one puts them past preaching.



where there are very few beggars and in extreme want, £40 per annum out of £90 to such uses, goes but a little way. This I would not mention to you but (*a*) because your ministry will do much the less without it, (*b*) because if you be in debt you will be disabled. Whereas, in Shrewsbury, there will be less expectation as being a smaller parish, and more ministers near, etc.

“6. In a doubtful case, it is not nothing that Shrewsbury first invited you, and you were gone so far in treaty with them, and therefore should first satisfy them as the first suitors.

“7. Shrewsbury is like to be in the greater straits, as appeareth to me.

“(a) The ministers are all godly, judicious, etc.; but (in your ear) that serious and awakening way of preaching is not the way of every good judicious man.

“(b) Mr. Bryan is in danger of being removed (as they tell me); and Mr. Paget is not long for this world.

“(c) The people are unanimous; but if they miss of you there is (as they tell me) great danger of having a formal con(formist), or a divider.

“8. I am informed that it is far more easy for Manchester to be well supplied than Shrewsbury—because their country aboundeth with able men who, being associated for government, will undoubtedly judge it their duty to remove one of their ablest men to the chief place. And I should think that in such an ordered country (as to Church affairs) it should be the duty of Manchester to send to their associated ministers to provide them a man before they choose themselves. And from among such store, it will be the smaller loss—yea, no loss, when he removes not from them, but (*i.e.* except) to a place that hath influence on them. But (though in Shropshire there are many good men, yet) I know not a fit man who can be removed without intolerable loss. And they are so few, that these reasons would turn me this way; yea, one of them would turn the equal scales. For in the other matters that you object, I apprehend an equality at least:

“(a) For the free call, I suppose it will be as general at Shrewsbury as their's, and *that* upon such a test of your labours as seemeth to promise great success.

“(b) I hear there is another young minister at Manchester, besides Mr. Heyricke, and a third in the town's end, and many near.

“(c) Some say that at Shrewsbury the ministers themselves so profit by you that their hearers are sensible of it.

“(d) I see no reason that you should live at a penny higher rate at Shrewsbury than at Manchester. If any exceed it is the rich ; and it must be your work, by doctrine and example, to bring them lower.

“(e) I am persuaded you scarce know more peaceable honest ministers in England than these in Shrewsbury ; and truly I hope Mr. Paget is not altogether so morose as some report him. I went to him after I writ to you last, and found him very fair and placable ; and they are all of a judgment, which is the great matter to unity and peace.

“(f) Your people, it seems, be not much offended at your removal ; and then they have little reason to choose your place. Your first call to Shrewsbury and treaty with them, may stop their mouths.

“(g) But then, I confess, you have one reason that I am unable to confute—which is the contrary judgment of your neighbour ministers. They may see more than I can (especially judicious and honest Mr. Fisher, who knoweth both places). And, therefore, I presume not peremptorily to advise you, but to cast in my thoughts which, if they seem unsatisfactory to you, reject them. But, be sure you go not against your own judgment, whatever they or we advise you ; but, after you have heard all, and begged God’s direction, follow the inclination of your own mind, and trouble not yourself too much with fears of a wrong choice, while God is your end, and you do your best to discern His Will. The Lord direct, enlighten and prosper you in His work ; and, in your prayers, vouchsafe the like requests for

“Your unworthy brother,

“RI. BAXTER.”

This letter went forward by the hand of Captain Hunt on Monday, Dec. 1st, and two letters written the same day—the one from Mr. Hildersam and the other from Mr. Tallents—went with it. The feverish eagerness of Shrewsbury is brought home to us by what Mr. Hildersam says, that as late as the previous Saturday morning the High Sheriff and his wife had written ‘in their own names,’ ‘in the names of many of Julian’s parish and others of the town’ ‘importunately requesting’ him ‘to write effectually’ to Newcome. So he wrote, the more readily because he understood that Newcome himself desired

to know his advice. But, though he loves 'the town exceeding well' and has 'many ancient good friends in it, particularly Mr. Hunt and his wife,' yet, not even to gratify the dearest friend would he persuade to anything which he 'did but suspect might be prejudicial or uncomfortable' to his young brother. The force of his plea for Shrewsbury lies in its simple sincerity. He is convinced that the signs all point to it as the sphere where Newcome could do most good and be most happy. They all 'induce me to persuade you and, if I have any interest in you, earnestly to entreat you, to come over with all convenient speed, and to accept so fair a call, and to agree upon the terms.'

Mr. Tallent's letter, on the whole, backed up that of his uncle, Mr. Hildersam, and added the personal appeal that if Newcome came he cherished 'a strong hope of enjoying a special friend in the Lord.' But he hinted a warning. 'As for the maintenance, they offer good security and I would advise you (as I have propounded it to some of them) to see it made as strong as may be at the first agreement that neither you, nor honest men that engage to you, may suffer if the augmentation should fail.' In other words, there was a danger that enthusiasm had promised more than could be sustained, if the first love cooled; guard against it at the outset. The warning was not unneeded; for first £90, then £100, and at last £120 per annum was promised, thanks to the pledges offered by a few of the well-to-do, and elicited from the rest!

Baxter did not write again. There was nothing more to say. The issue rested now with Newcome, and he came to it across troubled waters. Briefly stated, the sequence of events was this.

On November 30, Newcome kept his engagement to preach at Manchester. On the following Wednesday at night Captain Hunt arrived at Gawsworth with his letters, and accompanied Newcome next day to an 'exercise' at Macclesfield where Newcome put the arguments for and against Manchester and Shrewsbury before his brethren. No doubt the Captain, too, was allowed to have his say. He returned to Macclesfield with a promise from Newcome to visit Shrewsbury a fortnight later. Then on the 5th (Friday) the people at Manchester met and elected him *nem. con.*; and Mr. Heyricke, in announcing this, said the vote was given despite Mr. Baxter's letter which he had read to them. He thought the course clear for

Newcome to close with the call at once ; but, if he doubted his right to do so, 'they would refer it to a meeting of three ministers on each side' to debate and decide the business. He agreed to the 'reference,' and wrote to his 'brother Steele of Haynes' begging him to go over to Shrewsbury and persuade them to assent. This was on the 8th, and on the 11th Mr. Steele did as was requested. What he saw and heard amazed him. The people were in a state of intense emotional excitement and even resentment. They had been 'fed high with hope' based on Newcome's alleged promise that if ever he left Gawsorth he 'would sit down with them ;' they spoke of providence 'as their greatest friend in' the matter : they scouted the proposal of a 'reference,' inasmuch as Manchester had no claim at all ; and they were resolved to have him at any cost.<sup>1</sup> Letters to himself, from Mr. Hunt and Mr. Downes—which he enclosed—bore him out. Other letters direct from Shrewsbury on the 13th bore him out so abundantly that he was 'much troubled and amazed.' Mr. Steele had insisted that Newcome must keep his engagement for next week unless health or weather block up his way ; but 'bring a second with you' else 'the prayers and tears' of the people will melt your reason. Hence on Monday 15th he called on young Mr. Langley of Swettenham who, after hearing Newcome's story, very lovingly offered to go with him 'the very next day.' Accordingly the next morning, December 16th, they met at Haslington, and 'got to Hodnet to Mr. Campian's that night, and the next day to Shrewsbury by 11 o'clock. On the 18th Mr. Langley preached at Mary's Lecture in the morning and Newcome at Julian's<sup>2</sup> in the afternoon.

The visit turned out most unhappy. Newcome naturally was not quite himself. The atmosphere was hectic. Eager and hot discourse about the business in hand made it explosive. Mr. Downes, *e.g.* so far lost self-control as to turn on Mr. Langley and tell him 'very passionately and unhandsomely that his father had been respected and

<sup>1</sup> 'I doubt not but Salop will assure you of £120 before they'll lose you.' And this (says Steele), coming from voluntary gifts, will be a far more trustworthy source of income than Manchester's method of reliance (partly) on the State. An augmentation of £50 from the State may 'shrink to £30 in hand' as 'a neighbour of mine' has found.

<sup>2</sup> In the newly repaired church—repaired for *him* at a cost which (they said) his unkind refusal left them unable to meet.



honoured in that town and it would be sad if they of Shrewsbury should, after, have cause to say they might have had Mr. Newcome if it had not been for Mr. Langley's son' (p. 65)—simply because Mr. Langley seemed neutral. What struck them both as the worst aspect of the case was the people's vehement self-will; their 'strange fondness and resolution to have the design go forward'—on which Mr. L. said 'Well! when Rachel would have children or die, she was fit for neither death nor children.' A startling sign of such childish impiety was the fact that some expostulated when a Mr. Boate 'prayed very honestly that if God had more work for me to do at Gawsworth he would keep me there; or if more at Manchester, he would take me thither.' One hopes he shamed them by his answer, that he prayed not to please them but God, if he could! But how could Newcome feel safe among such a people, especially when he came to see clearly that they expected him to 'do more than was possible for a man to do.' 'They looked,' he says, 'that I should exceed all the ministers they had, and they had four all eminent men.' He was to be the popular preacher, the shining light, the Baxter of the town. This was a bad dream of theirs from which he shrank as an enemy—an enemy which 'utterly deterred him.' His mind, therefore, was made up when he said farewell pretty early on Friday morning and rode with Mr. Langley to Middlewich, where they spent the night in shelter from a heavy fall of snow. Having preached for Mr. Langley on the Sunday, he pushed on to Gawsworth the same day. Tuesday he 'kept in private to seek the Lord in this great affair.' Wednesday he spent in drawing up his answer to Shrewsbury—apparently at Astbury whither he had come for the night, calling at Congleton on the way to take 'order to send it away.' There was no delay. The answer 'went towards Shrewsbury' 'just that day' *i.e.* some time on Wednesday (p. 67). It was addressed to Mr. Hunt and is extant.<sup>1</sup> It covers the whole ground, and nothing could be more creditable to the writer's good sense and feeling. His judgment not to come is implied throughout, but he did not positively refuse. He would like the decision to be made as the result of a friendly talk in

<sup>1</sup> Yet this is dated Dec. 29th, the following Monday. But the statement of the "Autobiography" is quite definite and is confirmed by what Newcome wrote to Heyrick on the 25th, *viz.* 'I have in the letter *already written* . . . ' though he does not add that it had been sent off.

the proposed committee of reference. He entreats his Shrewsbury friends to consent and not to send him an answer that will further grieve him. 'My spirit is much broken by what hath already passed . . . and truly a few such debates as this hath been about my removal, may save me the labour of removing.' He means, might kill him. But the appeal failed with Mr. Rowland Hunt. Whether he had any real right to speak for the people generally is not clear. I am inclined to think not. He seems to have been a dominating person who could bend the majority to his opinion, at least for the moment ; and could be harsh to the point of cruelty towards the few who opposed him. There have always been men of his type in the Church, and they have always cancelled out their good deeds by their bad temper. So it was in this case. Mr. Hunt had been kind to Newcome in many ways, but Newcome had dared to have a mind of his own and to exhibit some distrust of Mr. Hunt. So Mr. Hunt's temper broke down ; and drove him to assert that Newcome had broken faith with Shrewsbury, that he had swayed strongly towards Manchester all along and had only pretended to keep an equal mind towards Shrewsbury, that he had not seen the clear signs of a call from God in Shrewsbury because he did not wish to see them and that he was most to blame for the consequent grief and scandal. He goes so far even as to show that he could act somewhat the part of a spy, could gather up tittle-tattle from Manchester acquaintances, and give it a poisonous sting.<sup>1</sup> As to a joint conference to debate a matter which was not in doubt, it was absurd. 'The very yielding to' it would bring 'a cloud upon' a cause which is (to us) as clear as day. There was, however, still one possible way out. He and his friends would accept a decision by Mr. Baxter.

'I could wish, if Mr. Baxter were near you, that you had but two hours' discourse for (your) own satisfaction, or, if you will agree to write to him the strongest arguments you, or the men of Manchester, can urge in your and their behalf, and allow us equal liberty, we should not refuse, though I have not writ to, or heard from him, since

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Newcome gave birth to their son Peter at the time of his father's visit to Manchester (Nov. 30th) and several of the women sent tokens to her. The tokens were given in the form of money—about £7. Mr. Hunt heard of this and (says Newcome) 'gave a very unhandsome lash at it' in his letter (A., p. 64 ; *cp.* p. 371).

your being here. If not, we stand and fall to your own determination. God direct you.’<sup>1</sup>

This was the end. By the middle of Jan. 1657<sup>2</sup> Newcome had begun his ministry in Manchester on an assured income of £94 and a promise of £120 later. The promise was kept and no trouble arose on this score or any other: ‘for God wrought mutual love and sincere confidence between us.’ The event proved that he had done right to choose Manchester.

How long the sore smarted on the part of Shrewsbury we cannot tell. There is, however no mention of the place by Newcome, or of a visit, before Wednesday, Oct. 28th, 1674, when he came there from Bridgnorth.<sup>3</sup> ‘I was kindly received,’ he says, ‘by my old friend Mrs. Hunt, and preached the next day at their lecture; and upon their importunity, and the great rain, I consented to stay till the Lord’s day was past. I preached twice and repeated at night and was abundantly tired.’<sup>4</sup>

The editor of Newcome’s “Diary” (Intro., p. 16) thinks Baxter did but somewhat coldly assent to his choice of Manchester, and even resented it, inasmuch as ‘when he was commissioned to recommend Presbyterian ministers for church benefices’ he did not nominate Newcome. No doubt he is thinking of that passage in Baxter’s letter to Clarendon (Nov. 1, 1660) which declined the Bishopric of Lichfield for himself and begged to suggest a number of ‘able men,’ any one of whom would worthily fill the post. He had neither commission nor intention to nominate ministers for benefices. He did but

<sup>1</sup> A letter full of sympathy and good sense, with an affectionate greeting from two of the three other ministers, came about the same time (Jan. 1) from Mr. Tallents.

<sup>2</sup> P. 70. But he did not go to reside there till April 23rd following, p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> He had been on a visit to Mr. Foley at Whitley and had preached at Stourbridge and Kidderminster on his way there.

<sup>4</sup> A., p. 209. Where did he preach? At least seven or eight ‘meeting-places’ were licensed in 1672 (Turner’s Original Records . . . Vol. II., p. 737), including ‘a Roome or Roomes’ at the King’s Head Public House (*ibid.*, pp. 657, 665). But Calamy is most likely right, that he preached ‘in the house of that worthy and religious Gentlewoman Mrs. (Elizabeth) Hunt.’ Account . . . Vol. II., 547.

Mr. Bryan and Mr. Tallents also preached there until the suspension of the Indulgence (1673) passed into active persecution again (1675). Mr. Bryan lived till 1699, Mr. Tallents till 1708. Mr. Heath died in 1666.

volunteer a list of possible men for the 'place' he had not seen his way to accept.<sup>1</sup> As to his omitting Newcome's name, it may well be that he thought his position in Manchester not inferior to that of a Bishop for the range of its influence. Anyhow, it is certain that the Shrewsbury affair did not break off their intercourse. Numerous entries in Newcome's "Autobiography" attest this. Thus

1. We find him saying very soon after the affair was over (about Jan., 1659) that when he afterwards wrote to Mr. Baxter and told him of the reference which 'they at Shrewsbury declined' he wrote back that this was news to him and satisfied him of Newcome's straightforwardness (p. 67).

2. Amidst the alarms and confusion following the defeat of Sir George Booth at Northwich, August 19th, 1659 (Friday), Newcome wrote 'I remember about this time I told Mr. Baxter that I thought these troubles would not yet blow over, they did us so much good and kept us in so much awe, and did awaken and watch us up so to our duty' (p. 126).

3. 'On May 10th' (1667) 'Mr. Ashurst<sup>2</sup> went with me to Acton to see Mr. Baxter. He put me upon family duty, and I found myself very dry and unfit, being tossed about, and very highway-like. He preached to his own family after dinner on 1 Thess. iv. 17, 18. He was discoursing before that he had great comfort against the great sin of unwillingness to die, from the consideration of a glorified mediator; and in his sermon he discoursed rarely of it.'

4. In 1668 he was again in London. 'We were on the Wednesday (September 30th), at Mr. Ashurst's; dined with Dr. Seaman (there?); and Mr. Baxter came in, whose company I had for two or three hours, to my great content.

5. He was a great reader of Baxter's books, and drew much help from them. On one occasion, *e.g.* he was upset by the apparent defeat of his scheme to set up a school for poor children at Ribchester and Poulton by the death of the benefactor Dr. Worthington (Nov. 1672). But, says he, 'it put me in mind of a passage of Mr. Baxter's who, upon occasion says, that any public work which one would think should have no hindrance, yet it shall oft meet with

<sup>1</sup> "R.B.," i., 283.

<sup>2</sup> April 20, 'We dined at Mr. Ashurst's at Lauderdale House.'



such delays, and unthought of oppositions, as if a man had some unseen spirit to wrestle with, before he could get it effected' (p. 199).

6. Another visit to London in 1677 by way of the coach from Oxford—where his son Peter had just been denied his degree<sup>1</sup>—brought him to Mr. Ashurst's by Sunday, February 25th, and engaged him to preach at his house. 'Mr. Baxter came in to dinner, in design to hear me preach in the afternoon ; which was a real surprise to me, and I was a little discomposed. However, the discourse was accepted by them that heard ; it was a signal mercy to me' (p. 219).

7. Later in the year he received (July 14th, Saturday) the intimation of a call to London from Deadman's place—brought about, it would seem, mainly by Alderman Ashurst ; and, as things in connection with it were not going smoothly, he journeyed to London in October to smooth them out. For there were difficulties at Manchester which inclined him to make a change. On Oct. 14th, Sunday, he heard Mr. Baxter preach in the forenoon and again on Tuesday at Pinner's Hall. After the latter, he walked with Baxter on his way home and they talked over the considerations for and against Deadman's place. Baxter, as his manner was, seems to have set these out in writing : for Newcome (on Nov. 9th) regrets that he is so busy as to lack time 'for reading Mr. Baxter's papers.' He turned homewards on Monday, November 26th—with the question of Deadman's place still unanswered. But, meanwhile, on November 15th, he 'preached at Mr. Baxter's lecture at Fetter Lane on John i. 47.' 'The notes I had not with me,' he says, 'but the Lord helped me' (pp. 222-223).

8. Once more, he went up to London accompanied by his daughter Rose—whom he expected to leave there (as companion to a Mrs. Randall ?). They set out on Friday, September 9th, 1681 (p. 239), and got to the city on Saturday 17th. His visit extended to October 26th. On the 14th he preached at Mr. Ashurst's and felt disquieted. For 'Mr. Baxter had preached before me an excellent discourse about the covenant with children and their parents . . . my discourse, as I thought, was not so adapted to the occasion.' Then on October 21st—'I joined with Mr. Baxter again in a private day at

<sup>1</sup> 'I hoped to have gotten him out at Cambridge but those who had obstructed him at Oxford denied him at Cambridge.' The Universities were barred against Non-Conformists. But by June 7th, 1681, he had taken his M.A. at Oxford—which seems proof that Peter had conformed (p. 236).

Mr. Lane's. I see how much I fall short of what I should be from what I see Mr. Baxter hath attained to, who hath constant peace, but is troubled only that he cannot live in the joy of the hope of heaven' (p. 239).

9. 'March 6th, 1685, we heard Mr. Baxter was committed to the King's Bench for his Paraphrase on the New Testament (p. 259).' His conviction in June initiated a restraint which lasted till February 7th, 1687. In the summer of 1686 Newcome went up to London about his wife's eyes—Rose with him, again. They remained in, or near, the city from May 19th to July 13th. Among his other visits, he made one to Baxter in the Patent Shop over against the King's Bench, Prison Gate, Southwark. 'July 6th, I saw my old friend Mr. Holden. The same day I saw Mr. Baxter in his confinement, very weak, yet triumphantly cheerful' (p. 263).

They did not meet again, nor does Newcome make any further mention of his friend, except in a passing allusion under date—June 12th, 1687. Strange to say, he does not even mention his death on December 8th, 1691. But by that time the additions to his Diary had become very meagre—only six in that year, and mostly of a personal or domestic interest. It is enough to feel sure that his silence did not betoken forgetfulness and that their friendship held good to the end.

## OCTAVIAN AND AUGUSTUS.<sup>1</sup>

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FIFTY years ago every young person who felt any interest in literature made himself as a matter of course familiar with the famous Philosophy of Clothes which Thomas Carlyle put forth in his grim but eloquent *Sartor Resartus*; and it may be doubted whether his protest against modern varieties of hypocrisy is even yet out of date. Were he writing to-day, he perhaps might find a parallel subject for his humorous assaults in the importance which we allow to be attached, consciously or unconsciously, to a change of name. I will not plunge into deep questions of psychology and social philosophy by considering the total results in the life of what used to be called the gentler sex of the change of name associated with marriage,—results which begin even in prospect. In some subtle way when Miss Jones marks the new linen with the name of Brown instead of Jones she feels that she is putting on a new personality. Other examples nearer our subject to-night, though less attractive in themselves, would be the effect upon, say, Mr. Alfred Harmsworth by some mysterious process transfigured into Baron Northcliffe; or further back when the reckless whig-dishing “Dizzy” became the stately Earl of Beaconsfield. The last ten years, too, have brought within common experience a great number of other changes, as when Herr Schmutz appears among us as Mr. Smith; and we shall probably agree that the change has often had some real effect of its own.

What we are concerned with now is a definite, demonstrable and

<sup>1</sup> This paper is based on a lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 8th February, 1928; and in printing it I am again indebted to the valuable criticism of my friend, Mr. Donald Atkinson, Reader in Ancient History in the University of Manchester.

amazing change in a particular man. Thanks to certain personal gifts, not perhaps themselves of the most brilliant kind, this man did render an enormous service to Europe ; and his name has become the mark of a new epoch. And this was partly because that name itself was a new one. When Octavian, as he was called from 44 B.C. till he was thirty-six years old, became Augustus, the Venerable, it was a symbol of a great change in the world. The question to which I would try to supply at least a fragment of an answer, is this : How was Octavian converted into Augustus ?

Of that part of the answer to this question which concerns the influence of Vergil I have recently dealt with elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Here I want to break new ground by pushing home the question so far as it concerns the poet Horace.

To begin with, if we are to judge the magnitude of the question at all clearly, we must form some conception of what kind of qualities the name Octavian really represented ; what kind of a person was he when at nineteen he succeeded to the name and a large part of the prestige of the murdered Dictator—his great uncle and father by adoption ? There is no lack of evidence ; we know that his entrance on public life was made possible by the kindness and support of the venerable Republican statesman who with real foresight saw in him a defence for the Empire against the designs of that unscrupulous ruffian Mark Antony. In the end Cicero's foresight was justified,—thanks to the strength of the spirit which he represented ; but for the moment it was to be rudely disappointed ; Cicero himself was the first victim of Octavian's shattering disloyalty. Cicero's later *Philippics* give us a clear picture of the steps by which Octavian became the commander of an army put into the field by the Senate, expressly to defend the Empire against Antony's pretensions ; and we all know how, having used these forces to defeat Antony, Octavian made friends with him and agreed to the Proscription. The historian Appian has preserved for us the text of the proclamation by which the Proscription was announced ; it was signed by Lepidus and Antony, and by Octavian also. History gives us many examples of tyrants and dictators who climbed to power by a *coup d'état*, not shrinking from bloodshed. But it is not so common a thing for them

<sup>1</sup> "Poetry and Government," Manchester University Press, 1928 ; also in *Class. Assoc. Proc.*, 1928.



to leave behind them a public document proclaiming and justifying their murders, over their own signature. Yet that is what Octavian has done. It was the result of two long sittings, at the first of which Octavian resisted Antony's demand for the death of Cicero ; but afterwards he gave way. Antony, Octavian and Lepidus, under the name of Triumvirs, marched to Rome and proclaimed peace,—the first act of which was to issue this proclamation which included the names of more than two thousand persons who were to be hunted to death like wild beasts. Let me give you some part of this strange document which marks the end of the first scene of Octavian's public career :—

“We, Marcus Lepidus, Marcus Antonius, and Octavius Caesar, having been elected to bring into harmony and order the affairs of the Republic, make the following proclamation. But for the treachery with which disloyal citizens, who had obtained mercy when they prayed for it, nevertheless became enemies of him who had shown them kindness and conspired against his life, Gaius Julius Caesar would never have been slain by those whom he took prisoners in war and mercifully spared and whom, one and all, he had treated as friends and promoted to honours ; nor should we now be compelled to take these measures against all those who have insulted us and proclaimed us public enemies. But as things are, seeing that the wickedness of those who have plotted to destroy us, and by whom Caesar was slain, cannot be overcome by any kindness, we choose to anticipate our enemies rather than to suffer ourselves. Therefore let no man think us guilty of unjust or cruel excesses, when he remembers the fate of Caesar and the wrongs<sup>1</sup> that have been done to us. Caesar was Dictator and High Priest, and had vanquished and subdued the nations that were most dangerous to Rome, and first of all men had begun to explore the unknown sea beyond the pillars of Hercules, and discovered the land of Britain, hitherto unknown to Rome ; yet they slew him in the midst of what they call the sacred Senate-house, under the eyes of the Gods, defacing his body with twenty-three wounds, though they had all been taken prisoners by him and spared, and though some of their names were

<sup>1</sup> These “ wrongs ” would seem to be Antony's way of describing the resistance of the Senate to his attempt to make himself emperor by force of arms.

written in his will as his heirs. But the rest, instead of punishing the authors of this abomination, raised them to office and honours, which they abused by seizing on public money<sup>1</sup> for themselves, and levying an army against us. . . . Some of them we have already punished ; the rest with God's help you shall shortly see chastised. We have already succeeded in the greatest of our endeavours, and made subject to us Spain and Gaul, and the districts nearer home. One task yet remains : to make war upon the murderers of Caesar who are across the sea.<sup>2</sup> And since we intend to conduct this war at a distance on your behalf, it does not seem to us to be safe either for us, or for you, to leave the rest of our enemies here behind us, since they would take advantage of our absence, and lie in wait for the accidents of war. Nor do we think that, in the present emergency, we ought to be slow to act from any consideration for them, but rather we must put them one and all out of the way. We have no grudge against any large body of citizens, nor shall we make<sup>3</sup> any choice of our private enemies nor shall we in the least single out those who are wealthy or politically eminent, though it must needs be that three men must have more enemies than one ; we shall not slay as many as did the last Dictator, whom you called Sulla the Fortunate, although he too was called on to rule the city during a civil war. And though we might arrest those whom we know to be evil without warning, we prefer rather to proclaim their names for your sakes, so that, having them properly named and numbered, the soldiers may abstain from interfering with anyone else. Therefore, with the blessing of heaven, we give command that none shall harbour any of those whose names are written below. Whosoever shall attempt to save them is included in the list. And whosoever shall bring the head of any one of them to us, if he be a free man, shall receive 25,000 drachmae,<sup>4</sup> but if he be a slave he shall receive 10,000 drachmae, his

<sup>1</sup> If there was any truth at all in this charge, it could relate only to provincial revenues. Antony himself had left no public money in Rome for anyone else to seize. It was, of course, Antony whose armies were unconstitutional ; the senatorial forces were legal enough.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Brutus and Cassius.

<sup>3</sup> This and the following clause would describe the principles on which the list was made up with greater truth if the negatives were omitted.

<sup>4</sup> Roughly £1000, though with a very much greater purchasing power than that amount of money to-day.

freedom, and all the civic privileges of his master. The same reward shall be given to anyone who shall give information of their place of hiding. We shall not enter on our records the names of any who earn these rewards."

A share in such wholesale murder might, one would have thought, have satisfied the cruellest mind. But Suetonius has collected from the same period other examples of Octavian's temper. After the Battle of Philippi all the most distinguished prisoners were brought before him, and he not merely had them put to death in his presence but insulted them first. One man begged Octavian to allow him to be buried, to which Octavian replied, 'that was a matter for the birds of the air.' A father and son begged for mercy; so he made them cast lots as to which should be spared. Then the father offered to die; he was executed; the son killed himself,—all under Octavian's eyes. A year later at Perusia when he had taken a multitude of captives who besought him for mercy, he replied '*moriendum est*'—'you must die.' Three hundred of them he selected from the senators and knights and caused them to be executed, as if they were beasts brought for sacrifice, at the altar built to the honour (or dishonour) of the Dictator Julius. Even these cold-blooded massacres probably caused a smaller amount of human misery than the expropriation of farmers all over Italy to make way for veterans of Octavian's and Antonius' army. Only those farmers were left (so the historians tell) in possession of their estates who paid heavy blackmail.

It is pretty clear that the character of Octavian as ruler of the Empire at that date left plenty of room for improvement. But the improvement did take place. The merciful and benevolent rule of Augustus is proved by every kind of evidence; nor need I here repeat the examples of it given in the lecture on Vergil's influence to which I have just referred. What caused the change?

Are we to think of Octavian as one of those strange beings to whom cruelty for its own sake is a pleasure, but as having learnt, for reasons of policy, to deny himself this pleasure in later life? One certainly might be inclined to think so. But probably a truer explanation, so far as it goes, lies in the intimate connexion between the impulse of cruelty and the emotion of fear. During these years (44-40 B.C.) Octavian's mind seems to have continually dwelt on the

image of the slain Dictator ; and as we see from the words of the proclamation, he persuaded himself that it was a solemn duty to revenge himself to the full on the Dictator's murderers, anyone of whose party might at any time be making a similar attempt upon himself. From the evil inspiration of such thoughts he was somehow delivered. By whom ?

The reader will no doubt be already aware of the answer to this question which I am likely to give ; namely, that the chief cause lay in the influence of two great poets, Vergil and Horace, supported later on by the historian Livy. I propose to say nothing here about either Vergil or Livy, but to examine how far we can be sure that Horace contributed to the process of enlightening and humanising the struggling Octavian. I have drawn attention elsewhere<sup>1</sup> to three points in which the influence of Horace may be traced—they were three great refusals—the refusal to forget the past of the Civil Wars ; the refusal to think of the Emperor apart from his subjects ; and the refusal to be content with the vulgarity of mere external splendour, and especially with any acquiescence in the proposal to remove the capital of the Empire to the East. The first two are matters of the poet's general attitude ; the third is the only one in which it has so far been pointed out that Horace did actually take sides in a real question of practical politics. The lecture in which I first suggested these conclusions is now nearly thirty years old ; and since then further light has been thrown on the relations of Horace to the Emperor, some of which we will now examine.

In preparing a special course of lectures at Harvard in 1927 upon the part which Horace took in political matters, I found some new evidence, of which a small part had been pointed out long ago and generally neglected. This evidence consists in a number of parallels between what Horace wrote and the account of a certain crisis given by a later historian who drew from writings of Horace's own day. If the parallelism be admitted, it will prove that the interest of Horace in a great political question which affected the Emperor more than anyone else was nearer and more definite than has been hitherto recognised ; and it will make clear the meaning of a particular ode whose interpretation is still disputed.

In studying more closely than I had done before the ancient

<sup>1</sup> *Great Inheritance*, c. iii.



authorities for the reign of Augustus, I was led to look into Book LII. of the history of Dio Cassius, which is taken up with an account of part of a conversation between Octavian, his great admiral Agrippa and his counsellor Maecenas. The subject of their conversation we will consider in a moment. But I was startled to discover, all through this extremely interesting Book, what appeared to be frequent reminiscences of Horace; or, if not reminiscences, such likenesses as could only be explained by an identity of source.

The trouble is that Dio Cassius did not write until the third century A.D. He was intimate with the Emperor Septimius Verus, and Consul about 210 A.D. and for a second time in 229. Then he retired and died at Nicaea in Asia Minor in 235. He spent his leisure in writing the history of Rome in eighty Books, of which we have portions of about twenty-five covering the period from 68 B.C. to 47 A.D. There are reasons for thinking that this part of his history was composed between 204 and 216 A.D., and there are reasons also for thinking that in this conversation which he depicts as taking place in 29 B.C. he had an eye to the conditions of the Empire in his own day, nearly two centuries later, so that his account must be read with a critical eye.

Let me now give you a few concrete reasons for thinking that in writing the speech which he puts into the mouth of Maecenas, Dio had re-read either his Horace or if not that, then some memoir which related what Maecenas had actually said in his conversation with Augustus. There is no reason at all to doubt that the question depicted actually was one which Octavian found it hard to settle and there is little doubt that the advice of Maecenas had a great share in determining the decision which the Emperor took. In one place in another Book,<sup>1</sup> Dio expressly cites the memoirs of Augustus; though of course we do not know precisely how much these Memoirs contained. But in any case, whether these resemblances to Horace are due to Dio's having relied on Horace at first-hand or to his using some other authority which Horace also reflects, the result for our present purpose is much the same. Passages in which these resemblances occur may reasonably be regarded as thoroughly historical, that is, as giving us some definite information of what people then were thinking. And if you judge that the likenesses are too striking to be due to mere

<sup>1</sup> 44.35.3.

accident, then we have a real warrant for thinking that Horace's words had a definite historical meaning, and for discovering from Dio what that meaning was.

What then was the subject of the conversation? No light matter. Nothing less than the question what Octavian was to do with the personal supremacy he had won. Was he to keep it, or to retire into private life? The second alternative was strongly urged by many of his friends, especially by Agrippa, who urged the odious and dangerous position of a monarch, and the glory of restoring a free government.

The study of literary parallels is apt to be rather fatiguing, but the proof in such cases, if there is any, must be cumulative; no one resemblance, nor even two or three resemblances, taken alone, afford strong enough basis for more than conjecture. But a string of them is a different thing.

Let me try then to represent what Horace sings and what Dio says.<sup>1</sup> I cannot escape this duty because the interpretation which I am going to defend of a particular Ode was put forward (so I have since discovered, after hitting on it for myself) some three centuries ago, and it was adopted by one German scholar, Franke, in 1839. But it has been left completely in the cold since then because neither Torrentius, the Dutch scholar (about 1600) nor Franke in 1839 did more than indicate the pair of sentences which reminded them of Horace's Ode; so that scholars like Dr. James Gow and Dr. Walter Leaf have, rather naturally, dismissed the comparison as insufficiently supported. But if we find reason to believe that in the rest of this very Book Dio was making use of Horace, then his use of this particular Ode is clearly more probable than not.

We all remember Horace's boast,<sup>2</sup> that he has reared a monument more lasting than bronze; in Dio's account<sup>3</sup> Maecenas bids Octavian not to allow men to represent him in gold and silver images, but by his good deeds to carve undecaying and imperishable images in the hearts of men. (The conclusion reminds one also of Horace's praise of Lollius,<sup>4</sup> who is to be remembered not as the consul of one year, but as a good and faithful judge who continually set honour before profit).

<sup>1</sup> Appended to this lecture will be found the parallel passages side by side in Latin and Greek.

<sup>2</sup> 3.30.1.

<sup>3</sup> 52.35.3.

<sup>4</sup> 4.9.38.

In one of the three last Odes that he addressed to Augustus, Horace calls him *bonus* (*dux bone*), an almost familiar and quite surprising epithet addressed to an Emperor. Maecenas uses the Greek equivalent *χρηστός* in a pointed exhortation<sup>1</sup> in which he tells the Emperor he must live up to his reputation of being a really 'good' honest citizen, totally unlike the bandits and revolutionaries who plagued the world before him and whom he has overcome.

Horace counts it a glory of the older Roman society that private fortunes were small though the commonwealth grew great; so Maecenas is represented as counting<sup>2</sup> it one of Octavian's claims to public veneration that he has been most thrifty in all his private expenditure, but most open-handed in his expenditure on public objects.

In praying for the Emperor's health<sup>3</sup> Horace hopes that he will celebrate great triumphs here on earth, and live long to be called father and chief citizen (*pater atque princeps*). Maecenas<sup>4</sup> encourages the Emperor by saying: 'Of course they will look to you and love you as father and as deliverer when they see you living a seemly and happy life, successful in your wars but a lover of peace.'

In another passage where the title 'father' recurs, Horace exclaims: 'Whoso will seek to have his name inscribed on statues as father of the cities, let him take courage to curb our lawlessness so long unchecked.' That is exactly the command<sup>5</sup> which Maecenas gives to the Emperor in Dio's version, to 'put a stop to the recklessness of the multitude.'

In a famous passage Horace exalts the man of real virtue whose dignity and glory are destined to be immortal, and contrasts these with the cheap honours obtained from the applause or the votes of the crowd.

True Virtue never knows defeat:  
Her robes she keeps unsullied still,  
Nor takes, nor quits, her curule seat  
To please a people's veering will.  
True Virtue opens heaven to worth:  
She makes the way she does not find:  
The vulgar crowd, the humid earth,  
Her soaring pinion leaves behind.

How does Maecenas put it in Dio's prose? <sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 52.18.4 and 35.5.

<sup>2</sup> 52.29.3.

<sup>3</sup> 1.2.28.

<sup>4</sup> 52.39.3.

<sup>5</sup> 3.24.29.

<sup>6</sup> 52.15.3. and 35.5.

'See to it that those who take in hand some responsibility be chosen for their virtue, not by process of vote and canvassing for office. Virtue has raised many men to the rank of gods, but no man was ever made a god by a popular vote.'

Enough, I think, has been said to show that some of Horace's most cherished themes are represented in Maecenas' speech. But turn now to some coincidences in smaller matters which perhaps for that reason are even more convincing.

In celebrating the achievements of the Emperor's stepsons Horace<sup>1</sup> points out that brave men spring from brave sires, but that they need training too, to bring out their native qualities. Exactly the same combination appears in the speech of Agrippa in the story of Dio :<sup>2</sup> 'What good can a man do who lacks either training or good birth ?'

To this subject of education Horace recurs frequently. 'The minds of the young which in recent generations have been left to grow too soft must now be shaped by sterner pursuits. Our well-born youths are too untrained to keep their saddle, are afraid to engage in hunting, and far more skilled at games like trundling a hoop or gambling on the dice-board which our laws once forbade.' Notice the point that the aristocratic youth is proud of skill in something, but not of skill in the right things ; and compare with that the exhortation of Maecenas which Dio thus represents :<sup>3</sup> 'You should give no one an excuse to take to idleness or soft living or excellence in any sham kind of skill.'

In another famous passage Horace puts his exhortation in a positive form.

To suffer hardness with good cheer,  
In sternest school of warfare bred,  
Our youth should learn ; let steed and spear  
Make him one day the Parthian's dread ;  
Cold skies, keen perils, brace his life.

Or, more literally, 'he must spend his life in the open air and amidst dangers.' This is very like Maecenas' injunction<sup>4</sup> in Dio's prose : 'the young soldier must be reared so as to be always under arms, perpetually practising the duties of war even in wintry weather.' Still closer to Horace is the injunction that 'so soon as they grow to be youths they must turn to the use of horse and weapons, so that they may be trained to do their duty as men, from their youth up-

<sup>1</sup> 4.4.29.<sup>2</sup> 52.8.7.<sup>3</sup> 52.26.4.<sup>4</sup> 52.27.

wards, both in theory and practice.' The exhortation to teach boys to ride had always seemed to me a little curious in Horace ; a detail rather unimportant, so it might seem, as compared with the virtues of courage and simplicity which Horace is commending in the rest of the poem. But when we find exactly the same detail insisted on in this speech of Maecenas, and when we remember the keen interest that Augustus took in the new feature which he established at Rome and which he called the Trojan Sport, namely, the performance of difficult feats on horseback by a squadron of boys of high birth, we see that this question of horsemanship meant a great deal. It is, surely, difficult to doubt that it was typical of the practical counsels which Maecenas actually gave to Augustus and which Horace here reflected.

I hope at all events I have quoted enough to show how similar is the colour in many passages of Dio's record of this conversation, and in what we may call Horace's official Odes, which after all are not very many in number. It is difficult to reckon more than ten or a dozen at most.

Now consider the answer which Maecenas gave to Agrippa's contention. Maecenas replied, with a wisdom which history vindicated, that the Roman Empire was too vast a system to change its rulers every year ; that it was not necessary for the Emperor to expose himself to the envy and ill-will which had been provoked by the dictatorial power of the Dictator Caesar ; and then goes on to advocate the chief features of the dual system which Augustus practised under the forms of republican government, especially his careful maintenance of the authority of the Senate, remaining himself, in a sense, always in the background. It is obvious that Dio had felt this question had been of grave importance ; and we know from other authorities that Augustus thought more than once of resigning all his power. On the whole it seems quite certain that it would have been a great misfortune for the world if he had. The need for some central control of the provincial system was too patent and too urgent not somehow to be met. For Augustus to retire would merely have meant a new outbreak of conflict between different candidates for his place. Even against Augustus more than one conspiracy was formed by ambitious noblemen ; and we cannot doubt that the possibility of his retirement meant a grave danger to Rome and that the danger



was precisely this, lest the storms and furies of the Civil War should break out again.

Now this recrudescence of misery, this revival of recent and terrible dangers is precisely what Horace appears to be pleading against in the Fourteenth Ode<sup>1</sup> of Book I. :—

O luckless bark! new waves will force you back  
 To sea, O, haste to make the haven yours!  
 E'en now, a helpless wrack,  
 You drift, despoil'd of oars;  
 The Afric gale has dealt your mast a wound;  
 Your sailyards groan, nor can your keel sustain,  
 Till lash'd with cables round,  
 A too imperious main.  
 Your canvass hangs in ribbons, rent and torn;  
 No gods are left to pray to in fresh need.  
 A pine of Pontus born  
 Of noble forest breed,  
 You boast your name and lineage—madly blind  
 Can painted timbers quell a seaman's fear?  
 See, lest again the wind  
 Make you its mock and jeer.  
 Your trouble late made sick this heart of mine,  
 And still I love you, still am ill at ease.  
 O, shun the sea, where shine  
 The reef-ringed Cyclades!

Surely this grave warning which Quintilian tells us was meant for the state as a whole, cannot be concerned with anything but some grave risk of which Horace knew. If we had nothing to guide us but the knowledge that this Ode was an early Ode written like all those in Book I. at no long distance of time from the battle of Actium, we could surely find no more likely topic to which to refer it than to the possible revival of the old regime. And even if our confidence in Dio were restricted to the belief that the story of his fifty-second Book did reflect a real crisis in the early Empire, we should surely feel that Horace's Ode would be most naturally referred to that crisis. But the fact is that the strongest resemblance of all between the speech of Maecenas in Dio's version and the teaching of Horace occurs precisely in this Ode.

There are only twenty lines in the Ode and only eleven lines in Dio's Greek; and in these eleven lines there appear to me to be five

<sup>1</sup> Slightly modified from Conington's version.

clear reflections of Horace's words, and four or five others, less close but probably real.

How unlikely this is to be the work of chance may be seen very clearly from the fact that although, as the ancient commentators tell us, Horace is imitating a Greek Ode of Alcaeus (of which they quote nine lines), there are only four resemblances between Horace and Alcaeus and only one which is really vivid, namely, the 'torn sails' of which both poets speak. The other three likenesses consist merely in the mention of 'mast,' 'winds' and 'sailing' which must appear in any poem concerning a ship in difficulty.

Horace's picture is of a ship in harbour which is imprudently attempting to put to sea again in a storm. The image in Dio is rather different; there Maecenas definitely appeals to Octavian not to leave the helm. Without the captain the ship will come to grief.

The ship is borne on tossing waves; 'Don't you see?' asks Horace; 'For you do see' says Maecenas. 'The mast has sore wounds from the wind' says Horace; 'The ship is rotten' says Dio. 'It cannot last any time longer' says Dio; 'It can hardly last' says Horace. 'The sea is overpowering' says Horace; 'The sea is gaining on the ship' says Dio. 'Your sails are no longer what they were' says Horace; 'The State has suffered now for many generations' says Dio. 'A ship of Pontic pinewood' says Horace, 'though the name does it no good'; 'A ship of great burthen' says Dio. 'It will be a sport of the winds' says Horace; 'It is rocking this way and that' says Dio. 'You must shun the waters between shining Cyclads' says Horace—the Cyclads were famous for their reefs;—'Take care you do not let your ship be wrecked on a reef' says Dio.

Looking at leisure through these points one can hardly resist the conclusion that Dio is paraphrasing in his sober prose the picturesque details of Horace's poem. Franke in 1839 thought the likeness so patent as to need no comment at all.

Now if Horace ventured to publish such an utterance on the very highest and most vital point of imperial policy, no less than the position in State of the Emperor himself, it is clear that his influence with the Emperor was a thing to be reckoned with. And we are justified in attaching importance to his utterances in considering the forces which modified Octavian's conduct. Especially is this the case when we remember the personal independence which Horace sternly maintained,

from the early Epodes when he has nothing but condemnation for the ruling powers and shows not a little of his old republican sympathy, through all his Odes, where he consistently honours men who fought against Cæsar as well as those who fought on his side ; down to the very end of his career when he refused the entreaties of Augustus that Horace should become his private secretary ; and when in response to Augustus' request for a poetical letter addressed to himself, sent him only the second epistle of the Second Book, which is entirely occupied with technical literary questions and might have been addressed to any cultured Roman.

Now if we wish to estimate the total result on the Emperor's mind of the influence which Horace, Vergil and Livy exerted, we cannot do better than follow the guidance of Dr. Warde Fowler who pointed out<sup>1</sup> that the latest political Odes which Horace wrote, especially his Hymn for the Saecular Games, reflected closely the description which Augustus gives of his own policy in his autobiography, the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. Dr. Warde Fowler represents this by saying that when we read the *Carmen Saeculare* we feel that its general theme and much of its contents were the definite result of a conversation between the Emperor and the poet. It pictures, as we all know, the very best side of the Emperor's work ; and even if these declarations on his part were, as his enemies were fond of saying, nothing more than the homage which vice pays to virtue, yet that homage did, in fact, carry with it enormous results for the good of the world, did represent great acts of beneficence and political wisdom. In any case we are entitled to contrast the document which Octavian signed at the beginning of his career with this poem which Horace wrote, and which the Emperor endorsed, almost word for word, as representing his imperial ideal. Let me end with Conington's admirable version of its concluding stanzas :—

Grant to our sons unblemish'd ways ;  
 Grant to our sires an age of peace ;  
 Grant to our nation power and praise,  
                   And large increase !  
 See, at your shrine, with victims white,  
       Prays Venus and Anchises' heir !  
 O prompt him still the foe to smite,  
                   The fallen to spare !

<sup>1</sup> *Roman Essays and Interpretations*, p. 111.

Now Media dreads our Alban steel,  
Our victories land and ocean o'er ;  
Scythia and Ind in suppliance kneel,  
So proud before.  
Faith, Honour, ancient Modesty,  
And Peace, and Virtue, spite of scorn,  
Come back to earth ; and Plenty, see,  
With teeming horn.  
Lov'st thou thine own Palatial hill ?  
Prolong the glorious life of Rome  
To other cycles, brightening still  
Through time to come !

## APPENDIX.

### PARALLEL PASSAGES IN HORACE'S *Political Odes*, AND DIO CASSIUS, BOOK LII.

HORACE, *Odes*.

MAECENAS AP. CASSIUM DIONEM,  
LII.

III, 30, 1 :

exegi monumentum aere perennius.

IV, 9, 38-40 :

consulque non unius anni,  
sed quotiens bonus atque fidus  
iudex honestum praetulit utili.

IV, 5, 5 and 37 :

dux bone.

II, 15, 13 :

priuatus illis census erat brevis,  
commune magnum.

I, 2, 28 :

hic magnos potius triumphos,  
hic ames dici pater atque princeps.

III, 24, 29 :

o quisquis uolet impias  
caedes et rabiem tollere ciuicam !  
si quaeret pater urbium  
subscribi statuis, indomitam audeat  
refrenare licentiam.

(1) c. 35, 3 :

καὶ εἰκόνας σου χρυσᾶς μὲν ἦ  
καὶ ἀργυρᾶς μηδέποτε ἐπιτρέψης  
γενέσθαι . . . ἄλλας δὲ ἐν αὐταῖς  
ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχαῖς καὶ  
ἀκηράτους καὶ ἀθανάτους ἐξ εὐερ-  
γεσιῶν δημούργει.

(2) c. 18, 4 :

ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἄλλοι καὶ ἐτάραξαν  
καὶ ἐκακούργησαν, σὺ δὲ δὴ χρηστος  
εἶ.

(3) c. 35, 5 :

σοὶ μὲν ἀγαθῷ ὄντι καὶ καλῶς  
ἄρχοντι πᾶσα γῆ τεμένισμα ἔσται.

(4) c. 29, 3 :

ἰδὼν σὲ πρὸς μὲν τὰ οἰκεῖα φει-  
δωλότατον, πρὸς δὲ τὰ κοινὰ ἀφει-  
δέστατον ὄντα.

(5) c. 39, 3 :

πῶς γὰρ οὐχ ὥς πατέρα πῶς δ'  
οὐχ ὥς σωτήρα . . . προσόψονταί  
σε . . . καὶ φιλήσουσιν ὅταν σὲ  
ὀρώσι κόσμιον, εὐβίοτον, εὐπόλεμον  
εἰρηναῖον.

(6) c. 14, 3 :

τὴν θρασύτητα τοῦ ὀμίλου παύ-  
σαι.



## III, 2, 17-24:

Virtus, repulsae nescia sordidae,

nec sumit aut ponit secures  
arbitrio popularis aurae.

Virtus, recludens

caelum

coetusque uolgares  
spernit.

## III, 2, 1-6:

Angustam amice pauperiem pati  
robustus acri militia puer  
condiscat, et Parthos feroces  
uexet eques metuendus hasta;  
uitamque sub diuo et trepidis agat  
in rebus.

## III, 24, 52-58:

tenerae nimis  
mentes asperioribus  
formandae studiis. nescit equo rudis  
haerere ingenuus puer,  
uenarique timet; ludere doctior,  
seu Graeco iubeas trocho,  
seu malis uetita legibus alea.

## Compare also IV, 4, 36:

indecorant bene nata culpa.

## With IV, 4, 29 and 32:

fortes creantur fortibus et bonis:

doctrina sed uim promouet insitam.

HORACE, *Odes*, I, 14.

## 1-2:

referent . . . noui  
fluctus.

## (7) c. 35, 5:

ἀρετὴ μὲν γὰρ ἰσοθέους πολλοὺς  
ποιεῖ, χειροτονητὸς δ' οὐδεὶς πώποτε  
θεὸς ἐγένετο.

## (8) c. 15, 3:

ἵνα οὔ τέ τι ἐγχειρίζομενοι ἀπ'  
ἀρετῆς ἀλλὰ μὴ κλήρῳ καὶ σπου-  
δαρχίᾳ ἀποδεικνύωνται.

## (9) c. 26, 1:

περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν βουλευτῶν τῶν  
τε ἱππέων . . . ἕως τε ἔτι παῖδες  
εἰσιν, ἐς τὰ διδασκαλεία συμφοι-  
τώσι καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἐς μειράκια ἐκ-  
βάλωσιν ἐπὶ τε τοὺς ἵππους καὶ  
ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα τρέπωνται . . .

## (10) c. 26, 2:

οὕτω γὰρ εὐθύς ἐκ παιδῶν  
πάνθ' ὅσα χρὴ ἄνδρας αὐτοὺς  
γενομένους ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ μαθόντες  
καὶ μελετήσαντες ἐπιτηδειότεροι  
σοι πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον γενήσονται . . .

## (11) c. 26, 4:

καὶ μηδένι γε . . . πρόφασιν  
παρέχης . . . ῥαθυμίαν ἢ μαλα-  
κίαν ἢ καὶ ἐπιτήδευσίν τινα κίβδη-  
λον προσποιεῖσθαι.

## (12) c. 27, 1:

τοὺς δὲ δὴ στρατιώτας ἀθανά-  
τους . . . τρέφεσθαι προσήκει καὶ  
αὐτοὺς αἰεὶ τε ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις εἶναι  
καὶ τὴν ἀσκήσιν τῶν πολεμικῶν  
διὰ παντὸς ποιεῖσθαι δεῖ.

## (13) In Agrippa's speech, c. 8, 7:

τί μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν ἀμαθὴς ἢ  
ἀγενὴς ἄνθρωπος ἐργάσαιτ' ἄν;

MAECENAS AP. CASSIUM DIONEM,  
LII, 16.

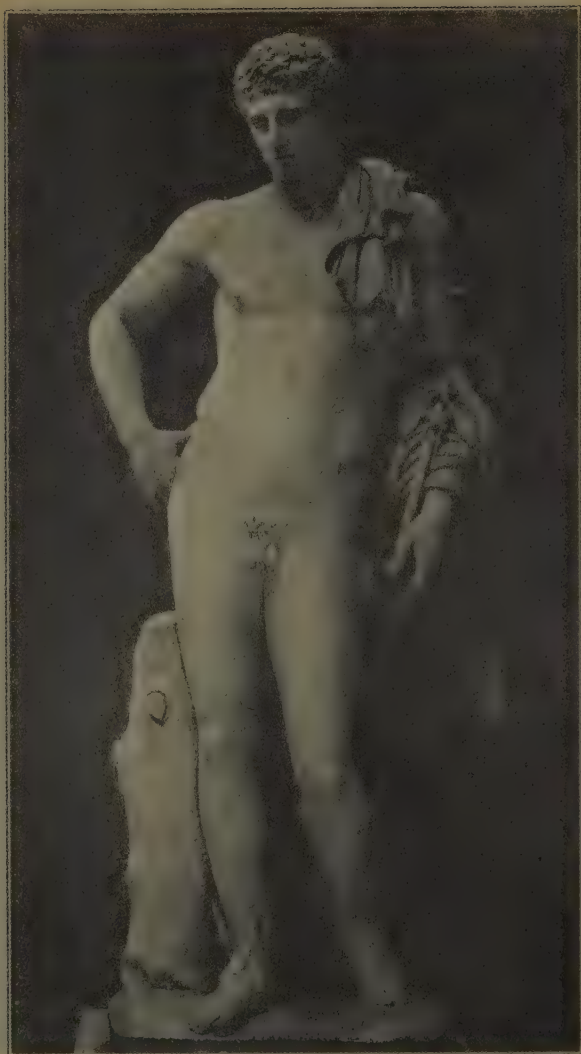
## 3:

ἐν κλύδωνι πολλῷ φερομένη.





(ED.<sup>N<sup>o</sup></sup> ALINARI) N<sup>o</sup>. 24856. OLYMPIE—GRÈCE. MUSÉE. HERMÈS DE PRAXITÈLE.



*British Museum.*

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CUPID AND PSYCHE  
1850

## THE ORIGIN OF THE CULT OF HERMES.

BY J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., LITT.D., D.THEOL., F.B.A., ETC.

IT was in the years 1915 and 1916 that I made my first serious invasion into the region of classical mythology by an attempt to trace the origin of the cults of the four Olympian deities, Dionysos, Apollo, Artemis and Aphrodite. These four essays, which appeared successively in the BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, were afterwards incorporated into a single volume under the humorous title of the *Ascent of Olympus by Rendel Harris*. It is difficult to realise that already twelve years of thin-spun life have gone by without further expansion of these Olympian themes, and it may very well seem to some persons that my mountaineering days are over, and that for me the Alpine Club has no further attractions or possibilities. This is, however, not to be assumed; for every one who has the climbing instinct knows that there always lurks in the breast of the mountaineer the thought of some other peak, not yet dominated by himself nor, as far as he knows, by another member of the Club. Is the whole range that we call Olympus exhausted? Are there any more gods or goddesses to whom we may assign a vegetable origin, as a partial or complete explanation of their services to man and their consequent places in a religious system? If Zeus is from one point an Oak-tree with a Woodpecker ensconced in it, if Dionysos is an Ivy-Vine, Apollo an Apple, Artemis the Mugwort, and Aphrodite a Mandrake, what are we to say of Hermes? Well, the first thing to be said is that he is the most inexplicable piece of mischief in all Olympus. One does not need to have a prepossession for vegetable origins of gods great or little, in order to say that his personality is elusive; for every dictionary of classical antiquities says the same thing; every exponent of mythology admits it. As far as interpretations go, he is a very Proteus, a magician one moment, a thief the next, a personal conductor of souls, a public orator, an exponent of philosophy, an Olympian nurse and



maid-of-all-work and messenger boy. Who can combine these functions and trace them to a common origin? Let us admit at once the perplexity of the problem, and see if, in any direction, it allows of unravelling.

For instance, the philosopher whose coat Hermes borrows is clearly an afterthought, a late development arising out of an identification of Hermes with Thoth the Egyptian god of wisdom, perhaps suggested in the first instance because Thoth is an Egyptian guide of souls. It is not to be denied that there may be Egyptian elements in Olympian legends, but this conjunction of Thoth and Hermes was as ill-advised as it was late.<sup>1</sup> If there were any grounds for supposing that Hermes was an immigrant from the South, we might look more closely at the equation, but as he is almost certainly a home-product of Hellas or has come into Hellas along with other hyperborean migrations, we need not spend time in looking to the Hermetic philosophy for an indication of origin. So much was clear at the start; all the rest appears to be obscure. If we look in Roscher's *Mythologie* we shall find an attempt to prove that Hermes is a wind-god, or is even the wind itself, if we go behind nature deified into *Natura Naturans*. For, if he is Wind, we can explain remotely his connection with Zeus the Thunder-god, and why he is always in a hurry to do things that he is told to do, and why his feet are winged; is there not a Sanscrit root *sar* which means *to hurry*, and will not this supply, by appropriate mutations known to philologists, the first half of the name of Hermes? Fick says so, and one does not reject Fick's solutions hastily, having no good philological sandals to fly with to a better solution. One can only say that it is a very far-fetched or far-flown explanation. Is the wind always in a hurry?

Turning to the general Hermetic problem, it will probably be wise, at least at first, not to assume a single origin for all the various forms presented by the cult. Hermes may be a fusion of characters, two or three single deities rolled into one. Even on the high stage of Olympus one man may in his time (or in his eternity) play many parts.

<sup>1</sup> The nearest thing that I know to an equation between Thoth and Hermes is the fact that he holds, in a post-Homeric tradition, the Scales of Destiny for Zeus, which is exactly what Thoth does in the Weighing of the Heart of the deceased person before Osiris. Each of them has also been credited with the invention of writing.

He need not have bought his sandals at the same shop as his *petasos* or Panama hat. As soon as we lay aside the prejudice in favour of an initial unity in this singularly diverse deity, we begin to see a direction in which a partial solution may be reached ; for it is quite certain that there is some connection between Hermes the god, and those stone pillars or *herms*, which were used as way-marks or boundary-stones in Greek lands. We begin, then, by saying that Hermes is a *herm*. At this point I must stop and refer to something said on the subject by my friend Jane Harrison, whose recent removal we deplore, as those who knew her best deplore the most. In a tiny booklet, which must be one of the very last of her writings, entitled *Myths of Greece and Rome*,<sup>1</sup> she expresses herself as follows on the origin of Hermes :

P. 49. "This goodly young messenger, with the winged sandals and the golden wand, in what form was he actually worshipped ? The answer comes as a distinct shock. He was worshipped as a *herm*—that is, as a rude block or post, surmounted by a head. Pausanias, when he came to Pharae in Achaia, saw an image of Hermes Agoraios (He of the Market).

'It was of square shape, surmounted by a head with a beard. It was of no great size. In front of it was a hearth made of stone with bronze lamps clamped to it with lead. Beside it an oracle is established. He who would consult the oracle comes at evening, burns incense on the hearth, lights the lamps, lays a coin of the country on the altar to the right of the image, and whispers his question into the ear of the god. Then he stops his ears and quits the market-place, and when he is gone outside a little way, he uncovers his ears, and whatever word he hears that he takes for an oracle.'

"Not only Hermes, but it would seem many of the other gods began their ritual life as *hermae*."

That is the way that Miss Harrison introduces the subject. Like ourselves, she treats the equation of Hermes and *herm* as fundamental. Even in this statement we are not quite at the beginning of the matter ; for the *herm* itself has developed out of a simpler form. Originally there was no head ; it has been humanised ; sometimes it has even

<sup>1</sup> Benn's Sixpenny Library, No. 59.

been made virile by the addition of another human symbol. So we go back to the simpler form that underlies these rude evolutions, and say that *Hermes is either a pillar or a post* : and since the post is in natural order the ancestor of the stone pillar, we suggest that Hermes was originally a wooden post. Shorn of his attributes, there he stands, without shoes or wand, or a head and *a fortiori* without a hat ; it looks very unkind to reduce a god to such narrow dimensions ; it is worse than making Apollo into an Apple ! The comparison, however, may be helpful ; for it suggests that Hermes also may have a vegetable ancestry. Let us see if we are getting nearer to the correct point of view.

At Olympia we make the goal of a pilgrimage the masterpiece of Praxiteles, Hermes carrying the infant Bacchus. This is far enough removed from a vulgar herm, but we notice that there is a round tree-stem in the sculpture, which serves as a support to the arm of the god. That may be only a sculptor's necessity. It is, however, no artist's exigency that makes Hermes carry the infant Bacchus. That is a part of the fundamental myth. How does one god carry another in this lovely attitude ? The statue is broken, but it looks as if the missing part of the arm of Hermes were holding something that the babe Dionysos is stretching out its hands for. Shall we say 'a bunch of grapes' ? That will suit the smaller god admirably, for he is vine-god and originally ivy-god. What connection can there be between ivy or vine and a stump of a tree ? The answer is obvious ; Hermes the Kourotrophos or Boy's Nurse is the tree-stump around which ivy clings or on which the vine is trained. In the case of the Hermes of Praxiteles, the design of the sculptor suggests a vine growing upon the stump of a tree, either a tree that is a natural growth, or a post that has been made out of a tree by the simple process of lopping the trunk. We can see the same idea in the accompanying representation of the so-called Silenus in the Vatican Museum, which is closely related to the Hermes of Praxiteles.

We may confirm this statement by examining the actual herms which are attached to three of the greatest statues of the god. It will be noticed that in each case there is a tree-trunk for a support to the statue, not a squared pillar, and the tree-trunk has had its lower limbs lopt away. In the case of Praxiteles' statue, the tree is not only lopt, but allowed to bifurcate, which is significant of the training of the ivy

or the vine upon the support, and betrays at the same time the origin of the virile element which we see in some of the squared and headed herms of antiquity. In the Hermes from Andros we have the additional feature of the embrace of the herm by a serpent; there may also be traces of this in the Farnese Hermes. The tree-trunk is to be grasped, but it is not clear why the vine or ivy should be turned into a serpent.

We shall take this as our mythological ground-form. Our next step in the investigation will be even more surprising than the detection of the antecedents of Praxiteles. We are going to find out what was the particular tree out of which this herm was made. If we were to follow Miss Harrison in the belief that a herm is not an unlikely antecedent for a god, we might make an oak stump the herm of Zeus, and leave the rest to Pheidias; or we might take the apple tree or the poplar, and call it Apollo. What shall we say of the special tree-life of the primitive Hermes? In order to answer this question we shall have to change our ground from Olympia to Italy.

In the middle of the second century after Christ there was a writer of Christian vision and of Christian parable in the Church of Rome, whose name was Hermas. There is no doubt he was of Greek origin, as well as named after the great Greek god, whom the Arcadians worshipped above all others. He had actually been sold away from his native land and his pagan surroundings along with a brother of his, to become merchandise in the Roman slave-market. Here he was purchased by a Roman lady, named Rhoda, and, to abbreviate the tale, both his mistress and himself, as well as his brother, found the Christ of the new faith; the brother, whose name



Silenus (c. 350-300 B.C.) with infant Dionysos from the Vatican Museum.

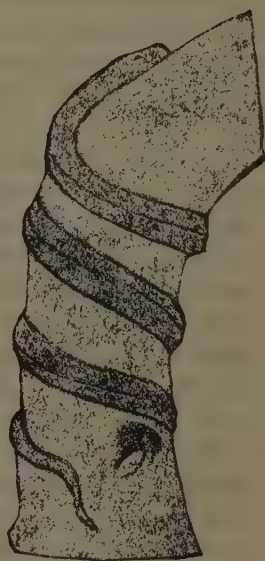
was Pius, became the chief pastor of the Roman Church, and Hermas, now a freed man, its chief literary ornament.<sup>1</sup> Hermas, for all his Roman dignity, carried with him a close and faithful remembrance of the mountains and valleys of Arcadia, and when he talked what he called *Similitudes* to the Roman congregation, it was not of Soracte that he talked, nor of the Apennines, but of the mountains in



Hermes of Praxiteles.



Farnese Hermes.



Hermes of Andros.

the Peloponnesus, whose names he had at his finger-tips, and worked into his parable, without anyone suspecting that when he said *Snowdon* or *Cader Idris*, he meant anything by the names. Hermas, then, talked *Similitudes* in Church, according to the ministry and method of the prophets, an order that was not extinct in his day : and

<sup>1</sup> For these and other related matters, see my "Hermas in Arcadia."



on an occasion when there was, if we like to imagine it so, a collection to be taken up for the poor saints, he chose as his theme the relations to one another of *the Vine and the Elm*. This time his parable was not Arcadian. He was talking from Campania, and to people who had no need to read between the lines of the *Similitude*, and ask where the prophet found it. *The Vines were growing on the Elms at their own doors*. So it was easy to explain that the Vine and the Elm were in a relation of mutual advantage; one was the figure of the Poor man, and the other of the Rich man, one of whom depends on the benefactions, the other on the intercessions of his companion. Until recently it was, I believe, explained by the scholars that it was the Rich man who supported the Poor; the Rich man was intended by the Elm, and the Poor man who clung to the Rich was the Vine that needed to be lifted from the dust by the branches above him. I had, however, occasion to show recently that this was not Hermas' meaning. For him it is the Rich man that trails by nature in the dust, and is lifted into fruitfulness and beauty by the intercession of the Poor.<sup>1</sup>

From the *Similitude* of Hermas we learn, then, that at Rome in his day it was the custom to train the Vine upon the Elm. *Hermes, then, is the Elm-tree*. When we make that equation we see a gleam in the direction of philology: for *Herm*, as we shall see presently, is the same word as *Elm*. In Latin and in the Romance languages we have the forms, *Ulmus* in Latin, *Orme* in French, *Urmo* in Italian, by the side of *Elm* in English.<sup>2</sup> We have resolved the philological perplexity over the meaning of the *Herm*. It has nothing to do with *Wind* or *Hurry*, as Fick supposed. It is not Greek, and it is a Northern word.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Expository Times*, March, 1928.

<sup>2</sup> To which must be added the Teutonic and Scandinavian forms, *Alm*, *Aelm*, and *llm*. A perplexing congruence of all possible initial vowels.

<sup>3</sup> It may be asked whether this does not require that some kind of sanctity should attach to the elm, as it is known to do (for Zeus' sake), to the oak.

On this point we shall give further evidence, but it may be noted, in passing, that Sébillot, in his *Folk-lore de France* (iii, 424), gives statistics of trees venerated in the department of the Oise, in which the elm had the first place: the enumeration was seventy-four elms to twenty-seven oaks, with other trees in smaller number. That appears to be an enumeration, not a percentage.

The foregoing philological identification, of which something more presently, rules out of court the supposition of an original Greek Hermes, and *a fortiori*, of an Egyptian Hermes. The elm is not an Egyptian product. When Origen has occasion to quote the parable of Hermas on the Elm and the Vine, he explains that it is the tree *which they call* πτελέα (*pteléa*); it required an explanation. Equally discarded is the theory of a primitive Arcadian, or other Greek, origin. There is no sign, as far as I am aware, of a Greek correlate to *ulmus*. Hermes must be hyperborean to the Greeks, or at least, middle-European.

Now let us look again at the Vine and the Elm, from which we



Vines married to mulberries.

took our suggestion with regard to Hermes. A little reflection will show that it is not possible to train a vine over the conventional elm. Imagine a vine set to grow amongst the luxuriant foliage and towering branches of the Cambridge elms. It would be starved for lack of sunlight, and would, in Scripture language, "bring no fruit to perfection." The elm, to be of real use to the vine, must be a pollard elm, shorn of its natural exuberance. The suggestion is a startling one, when made for the first time, but it is easily brought into the domain of reality. Every traveller who crosses the plains of Lombardy, say from Milan to Venice, will pass through miles of vineyards, where the vines are tree-trained. True, the trees are not elms; they are mulberry trees, but not mulberry trees allowed to grow to nature's height or breadth. They are pollarded, and when the stem has reached a

certain height, the tree is allowed to bifurcate. Along this bifurcated stem the vine is trained, and, by means of connecting lines from tree to tree, has abundant scope for its own growth and fruitfulness. This is the kind of vine and this the sort of supporting tree that Hermas was thinking of, when he composed his parable. Look at the accompanying picture of a North Italian vineyard at the present day, and see if it does not deserve a place in the next edition of the *Shepherd of Hermas*.

That is not all that the picture will teach us. It is very likely that in identifying Hermas with vegetable life, we have stumbled upon the origin of his mysterious caduceus or magic wand. It is one of the marks by which we know him in art, and describe him in literature, the wand with which he wakes the sleeper, and, if we may coin English to imitate Homeric terms, with which he *sleeps the waker*; that wand with which he closed the eyes of the watchful Argus, described by Pope at the close of the Dunciad,

"As Argus' eyes, by Hermes' wand oppress,  
Closed one by one to everlasting rest."

There are plenty of magic wands to be detected in all literatures; Moses might lend his to Homer and his Hermes; Milton will borrow one from a similar quarter in order that the descending angel of Peace may wave it wide over both sea and land. This Hermes' wand, however, is not an ordinary staff, which any magician might wield; it is made up of curious convolutions; it is bifurcated, and the bifurcations are crossed one over the other. It is, in that regard, singularly like the tree stumps in an Italian vineyard. A very little modification will make the one into the other. It becomes his own emblem. Look at the enclosed picture of a mulberry tree from N. Italy. What we



Mulberry tree on which vines are trained in N. Italy. From the *Gelsicoltura* of Professor C. Fuschini.

need now is some evidence that there was magic value in the shoots of the elm tree. All would be clear, if it was, for example, a mountain ash, or rowan, or quicken tree ; for that tree is as full of magic as a tree can hold, and has been recognised as having such virtue down to our own time. I am not aware, however, of any special virtue residing in slips of elm, but we may find it presently on further enquiry.

One more speculation with regard to Hermes as the artists represent him. There is his hat, which the ancients call *πέτασος* (*pétasos*) or *broad-brim*. It was originally the hat of the shepherd and the field-worker, a protection against the sun and the rain, but especially the former. May we say that it is, in Hermes' case, a vine-dresser's hat ? The *Kourotrophos* is naturally the vine-dresser. In that case it can be classified along with the caduceus, and we shall be left with the sandals and their wings, whose origin must surely be sought elsewhere than in garden, field, or grove ; as must ever so many other peculiarities which constitute the Hermetic cycle.

All that we have attempted to do is to suggest, and we hope in part to prove or to make probable, that there is a vegetable element in the ancestry of Hermes, as there is in so many other of the Olympians ; that this element is hyperborean, as in the case of Apollo, and relates his cult to the vine, and to Dionysos, the personified vine, in the sense that a vine needs the support of either post or pillar for its effective growth : so we suggest the elm-tree as the direct ancestor, and that its name is actually latent in that of the god, who may also be regarded as the vine-dresser, standing to the elm as personified form, something in the same way as Zeus to the oak. It is hardly to be expected, as we said at the beginning of the enquiry, that a single origin will suffice for such a complex character and for such multifarious avocations as antiquity has assigned to Hermes.

Now for some verifications of the correctness of the foregoing investigation.

First of all, let us see if we have exhausted the message which Praxiteles and other artists have left us in the marble of Olympia and elsewhere. I have always taken for granted that the support against which Hermes is leaning was a mere sculptor's necessity, and not a part of the artist's vision. Almost anyone would have said the same, for the statue is viewed from the front, and there is in the Olympian statue, an obvious connecting bar to keep the god and his precious

burden from falling. Suppose, however, we look as we attempted to do on a previous page, at the statue from the rear, so escaping from the folds of the drapery of Hermes which conceal the herm against which he is leaning, we shall see that it is not a squared post at all, but an actual tree trunk, whose head has been lopt off, as well as the lower branches, while portions of the bark at the root have been stript from the trunk. Not only so, but there is suspicion of a vine, or other creeper (for which the snake in the Andros herm is an equivalent), growing up the stem of the herm. Thus the sculptors have actually given us Hermes the Vine-bearer in two forms, first the elementary form as it occurred at every agriculturist's door; second, the same Hermes, as sublimated by the imagination and the emotion of a great artist.

In the next place, we have to enquire whether there is anything intended by Praxiteles in representing the elm-tree or herm as stript of its lower bark. At this point I have had the advantage of a communication from my friend Donald Mackenzie, whom I consulted on the subject of the *Folk-lore of the Elm*. Without any suspicion on the part of either of us that the enquiry was likely to lead anywhere, he wrote me as follows:—

DEAR DR. RENDEL HARRIS,

Your letter has come round to me here. Enclosed are some notes on the elm, which I hope may be useful. . . . In the county of Ross and Cromarty (my native county) women used elm-bark for a hair-wash. The bark of young elms is said to be the best. Landlords complained in the old days that young elm trees were stripped of their bark by women so that they might have glossy heads of hair. The women had superstitious notions about the elm, but what they were cannot now be discovered. It was supposed to protect one against evil (supernatural) influences, like the elder which it was unlucky to burn. . . .

Yours faithfully,

DONALD A. MACKENZIE.

It seems that the valuable contribution, which I here abbreviate, not only explains why the bark is stript from the base of Praxiteles' herm, but it clears up in part the difficulty which I expressed above as to the existence of magic virtue in the elm. It is clear that in Mr.



Mackenzie's county the elm was as magical as the rowan-tree. One particular variety is actually known as the witch-elm.

It was pointed out by us in what precedes that one of the early forms of Hermetic cult was divination ; Pausanias tells us of a hermit-oracle to which an enquiry was whispered, and the answer came in the first words heard after leaving the oracle. We need not doubt that such forms of enquiry were common in the Pagan world, and that Hermes was the patron of them. He would, in that case, have been the St. Anthony of Padua of Paganism, for it is precisely this rôle of answering questions, such as relate to lost property, and replying to letters, such as, for instance, relate to lost affections, that belongs to the most popular saint of the modern Roman Church. We need not assume that the cult of St. Anthony is a modern invention. It probably always existed in the Pagan world, from which it easily passed over into, or was retained in the Christian Church. We get a glimpse of this in the eleventh Mandate of Hermas, where that early Christian writer distinguishes between the false prophets of his own day in the Church, and the truly-inspired prophet. The double-minded people come to the false prophet, *as to a soothsayer, and ask him what is going to happen to them.* They practise soothsaying, *like the Gentiles*, says Hermas. The false prophet is *consulted in retirement.* That is a sufficient description to enable us to verify one of the ways in which the World crept into the Church. Indeed we suspect, as in so many other cases, that these Mandates and Parables contain actual experiences of Hermas himself. His very name coincided so closely with that of Hermes, that he might easily have been invited to take people's luck for them ; at all events he comes down as heavily as he can on those who ask the Luck-Questions and those who give the Luck-Answers. It looks like a real page in the history of the Early Roman Church, just as it is a page in Hermas' own history when he talks of the Elm and the Vine and other agricultural occupations, like the use of the Squirt in the Vineyard. Divination includes the finding of Lost Property, and nothing was easier, when false prophets were about, than to turn the Church into a Lost Property Office ; but the divination of water and metals to which we shall refer, as being connected with the bifurcated divining rod, is something on a wider scale ; and I do not know of any actual evidence for including it in the Cult of Hermes. What we have

suggested under that head must be regarded as speculative criticism. Even if we are satisfied that Hermes is the Elm, we want further evidence for the magical uses of the Elm itself. Is there, for instance, a magical reason for burying people in coffins of elm-wood? That might bring Hermes to the strand, when souls have to migrate.

The problem upon which we are engaged, and of which we do not pretend to have reached a complete solution, involves difficulties on the philological as well as upon the archæological side. Even if we can satisfy ourselves that Hermes has a vegetable origin, and that the primitive herm was that useful creature, a wooden post or tree-trunk, such as the elm can afford to the ivy or the vine, we have still to explain how the name of the elm has such diverse vocalisation in different languages. If Hermes be equated with *elm*, as we have suggested, there is no difficulty in the exchange of *r* and *l*; but it is curious that while we write *Elm* the French should write *Orme* and the Italian *Urmo*, from the primitive *Ulmus*. Here the *o* vowel has precedence. How does *e* arise?

How can we connect Hermes and *Ulmus*? That is the question. And the answer becomes more difficult, when a suspicion is aroused that another tree, *viz.*, the alder (*alnus*) is related to the elm (*ulmus*), which brings a fresh competing *a* vowel on to the scene. The explanation lies in the following direction, as was suggested by Müller in his *Altitalisches Wörterbuch*; the ground-form from which these perplexing variations have arisen *had no vowel at all*. It was something like *l-mos*.<sup>1</sup> This ground-form has taken on various vocalisations among various peoples and to describe various trees. It is even suggested that we may connect Hermes with a lime-tree or a lemon-tree! However that may be, we see that the philological difficulty is removed from our equation. Hermes can be the elm, and if we find him carrying the ivy-god or vine-god, and observe the elm tree carrying vine or ivy, then the elm is Hermes and Hermes is the elm. This leads us to another consideration.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Donald Mackenzie, to whom I referred above, points out to me that

“The elm is in Scottish Gaelic called *leamhan*, in middle Irish *lem*. Dr. MacBain (*Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*) derives from *lmo*.”

The confirmation of our previous derivation is valuable. The vowels in the various elm-forms need not cause us any further anxiety.

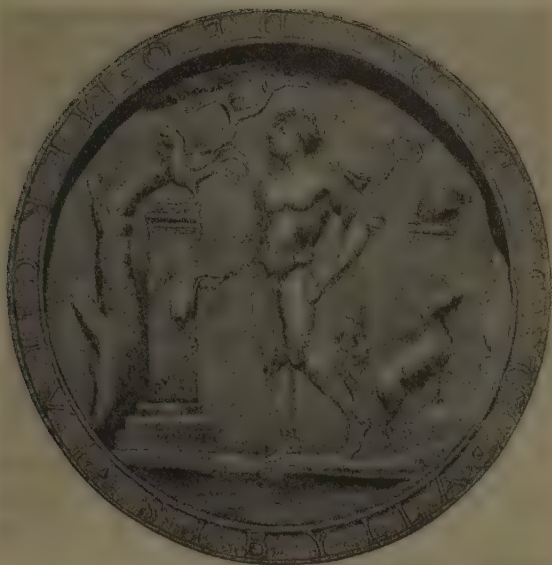
We know that the vine is in Italy trained on the elm, but if our hypothesis is correct that Dionysos is ivy first and vine later, it might sound ridiculous to talk of the ivy *trained* on the elm. Evidently the ivy trains itself, which the vine does not. It goes on its own feet, while the vine has only its own fingers. *Then the vine has imitated the ivy, and been suggested by the ivy.* This causes us to reflect, that while the ivy requires no assistance to climb a tree, the vine will require some assistance. It has been acutely suggested by a young Cambridge scholar that this is the reason for the development of the phallic element in the herm, just as I have suggested that the bifurcation of the pollarded elm is also for the assistance of the climbing and spreading vine. Priapus is becoming respectable!

Now when we look at the statue of Hermes which has made Praxiteles immortal, the view of the figure from the rear discloses both elements, the phallic element and the bifurcation. The tree-trunk against which Hermes is leaning has *two* lopped branches starting from it towards him, one of which is definitely horizontal. We may imagine the primitive agriculturist driving a wooden spike into the trunk of his elm-tree in order to give the vine the assistance in climbing, which the ivy does not stand in need of.

In the statue at Olympia we have a reminder that Hermes, in carrying Dionysos, is supporting both the ivy and the vine. The latter because of the bunch of grapes that the infant god is stretching out his hands to grasp (for which we may compare the Pompeian parallel), and the former because there are marks in the hair of the god which suggest that he had originally attached to him a metal crown of ivy leaves.

Dr. A. B. Cook, to whom, as usual, I am indebted for illustrations and for criticisms, especially for the reference to the work of Müller quoted above, does not think that I can establish my suggestions that leaves were actually represented on the pillar against which the god is leaning, and that the bark of the tree has been peeled off at the base. He thinks it possible that the marks on the surface of the herm may be meant to represent the bark of a tree, but not any superimposed leafage. The lower part of the herm is due to restoration. I expect he is more right than I; if so, the theory of leafage, either vine or ivy, must be abandoned. It still seems to me that there has been an attempt to show that the bark has been interfered with. We need that suggestion in order to bring Hermes into the field of magic.

I should not like to contest with Dr. Cook over the reproduction of the herm of the Praxiteles statue, but I should prefer to draw attention to a more significant statue of Hermes, more significant, that is to say, for the student of origins. In the accompanying reproduction we have not only the Hermetic symbols, the cock, and the tortoise (out of whose shell he is going to make his first lyre), but we have also the herm in three stages of evolution, the tree, the pillar



Hermes with appropriate symbols.

and the man, the pillar carrying the ivy, and in its final form the vine. On looking closer at the tree-form, we see that it is not only pollarded, but that the bark has been dug into at various points, so as to extract the magical material after the fashion of the women in the North of Scotland in the last century. The story of Hermes is written very legibly across this beautiful work of art.

We have suggested already that if the elm has magical powers comparable to those of the rowan-tree, and if Hermes is the elm, we

may get a clue to the powers of divination possessed by the god. It is well known, for example, that it is a *forked stick* of the rowan-tree that is used by the water-finders and searchers after minerals, and it is as a *forked tree-trunk* that Hermes makes his appearance in the Vineyard. The caduceus, which is Hermes in action, is easily reduced to the forked stick or bifurcating tree. So the enquiry resolves itself into a question whether Hermes was ever thought of as a water "dowser" or metal finder.



## BUNYAN BOOKS: A FURTHER NOTE ON THE FICTITIOUS BUNYAN BOOKS.

BY J. RENDEL HARRIS, LITT.D., D.THEOL., F.B.A., ETC.

IT will be remembered that, in the RYLANDS BULLETIN for July, 1928, I made a brief study or sketch of the fictions which sprang up like mushrooms (or let us say toadstools) in the fields that the Great Dreamer traversed. It was almost incredible that they should have sprung up so early, or been so numerous. Yet it is perfectly clear from Bunyan's own words that the piratical publishers had been merrily engaged between the issuing of the original *Pilgrim's Progress* of 1678 and the *Genuine Second Part* in 1684. The appetite of the religious public evidently grew by what it fed on. Bunyan in his works trounces soundly both the writers and the publishers of his supposed works. In discussing some of these, I took it for granted that they were all forgeries of the bare-faced order, but I have found that, in one case, and that not the least important, I had done the author an injustice, and put my playful scourge along with Bunyan's own more severe cordage, on the wrong back. That is to say, I find that the author of the fictitious *Second Part* did not say he was Bunyan, but only that he wanted to complete his work, in which he detected grave religious omissions and defects. Perhaps we may be able to reply to this impertinent flatterer, who blamed in order that he might praise, and pull off from him the white robe of his anonymity. Bunyan himself draws a distinction between two classes of imitators: those who appropriated his title, and those who took over both his name and his title:

"'Tis true some have of late, to counterfeit  
My pilgrim, to their own, my Title set:  
Yea, others half my name and Title too;  
Have stuck to their books to make them do."

The second class appears to be covered by those who made use of a first letter of his name (or the first and last letters) with intervening

stars ; but the first class does not carry piracy or plagiarism beyond the title of the book itself. In this class belongs the most notable of all the Pseudo-Bunyans, for which we have to be thankful, inasmuch as it put John again on writing a second and more populous pilgrimage story. We shall see presently how far the lash can lawfully be applied.

When I made my reference to this Second Part which John calls a Counterfeit, I had not examined the book, nor did I know that Dr. Glover had made a study of it in the *Baptist Times* for April 12th, using as his text-book a copy which is preserved at the Baptist Church House in Bloomsbury. He also pointed out that there were two other copies extant, one of which was in the British Museum. I do not know the locality of the third copy, but a comparison of the first two will show that they are two distinct editions in successive years, *viz.*, 1682 and 1683, that is immediately before the production of the genuine Second Part. The success of the venture can be estimated from the fact that the issue was exhausted in a twelve-month, and that the second issue was adorned with elaborate cuts, of which more presently. Its *format* was also enlarged. The copy in the Baptist Church House has an additional interest from having been at one time in the possession of the poet Southey, from whose Library it passed to R. B. Sherring. The volume has been rebound ; as we have said, the Museum copy is a smaller copy of an earlier date ; it is expressly stated to have been printed by R. H. over against the Poultry in 1682. It begins with a preface by T. S. about himself and his work, from which it appears that there was no attempt to pass the work off as Bunyan's. The writer acknowledges the interest provoked by the first part of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and designs to rectify its omissions and defects. There is a dedication to the author by one R. B., in rhymed verse. It is entitled

To the Ingenious  
Author  
of this  
Second Part  
of the  
*Pilgrim's Progress*.

We are further treated to an *Apology for his Book by the Author*.

Now with regard to the two Emblems, as they are called, which is a short term for allegorical plates, an idea borrowed from such writers as Quarles, we have no trace of them in the edition of 1682, nor have we a complete pair, for one has been lost in the 1683 volume, though there is *Explanation of the two Emblems* at the end of the book. From the scrutiny of the first Emblem and the Explanation attached, we see that the one which stands over against page 26 represents a circle of men and women dancing on the very rim of Tophet, and occasionally tumbling in. For the second Emblem the explanation tells us that :

“In the next page the friendly Preacher stands  
Telling their Danger, with uplifted hands,”

so that we can estimate what has been lost.

We may turn now to the author's own explanation of his literary activity. He tells us in the Apology for his book, in which he laments that people do not read such books as Bernard's *Isle of Man*, *Gentile Sinner*, etc., that such writers could be understood by “most illiterate persons and meanest capacities, and yet afford pleasure, delight, and satisfaction to the most Judicious, Learned, and Knowing Reader. And this consideration was the Motive which put the Author of the First Part of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, upon composing and publishing that necessary and useful Tract, which hath deservedly obtained such an Universal esteem and commendation. And this Consideration likewise, together with the importunity of others, was the Motive that prevailed with me, to compose and publish the following meditation in such a method as might serve as a Supplement, or a Second Part to it: Wherein I have endeavoured to supply a fourfold Defect, which I observe, the brevity of that discourse necessitated the Author into; First, there is nothing said of the *State of Man* in his first Creation. . . . Fourthly, I have endeavoured to deliver the whole in such serious and spiritual phrases, that may prevent the lightness and laughter which the reading of some passages therein, occasion in some vain and frothy minds.” The concluding sentence shows that if the writer had been in prison with Bunyan, when the question was started whether the book should be published or not, when

“Some said, ‘John print it,’ and others said, ‘Not so,’”

he would not have been included in the decision that "the Ayes have it"; and we who have an admiration for Bunyan's lightness and laughter would have been catalogued as "vain and frothy minds." Bunyan himself read this and alludes to it in his Prologue :

"Some say, he laughs too loud,"

and went on laughing quietly, as he wrote. The fact is, the writer wanted a book that could be given away at funerals, and he thought the First Part not a sufficient substitute for Rings and Gloves and Wine and Bisket. This was the direction in which funeral reform was moving at the time. As my friend Bernard Hall reminds me, it was in this very decade (in 1688) that an edition was published of the work of *Manchester al Mondo* entitled *Contemplatio Mortis et Immortalitatis*, which has on the title-page the significant statement that the book was

Very proper to be given at funerals.

One would have thought that the exquisite borderland pictures in John Bunyan's own Second Part would have secured a right of way against anything that T. S. or the *Death Contemplators* could produce; and we have actually noted the employment of extracts from the Last Things as Bunyan saw them to take the sting out of the Burial Service itself. Who, then, was this T. S., this orthodox mournful of the end of the seventeenth century?

The address which R. B. presents to T. S., the author of the book, runs as follows, and may give us a clue to the identification :—

To the Ingenious  
Author  
of this  
Second Part  
of the  
Pilgrim's Progress.

*Swain.*

Whilst labouring restless Tyrants swims  
Through Seas of Blood to Diadems;  
And whilst they set the World on blaze  
A tottering Mortal Throne to raise;  
Poor Earth-worms fighting for Earth's Sway  
Contending for the word Obey!  
To which must Europe vassalage owe.  
The Lov're or the Seraglio?

(Where Turk or Pope the Empire have  
 The Subject's sure to be a Slave;  
 And if I'm Chain'd, it is all one,  
 Be the Gally Turkish or Thoulon)  
 Whilst those this Tragick World engage  
 With Streams of Blood to stain the Stage,  
 Exceeding all call'd Brutal Rage.

*Pilgrim.*

Thou by this Pilgrim shews't the way  
 T'an Empire of Eternal Day;  
 An Empire not with Slaughter gain'd;  
 Nor yet by Force or Fraud maintained:  
 An Empire Bright, serene and clear  
 As the be-spangled Hemisphere;  
 etc., etc.

Exalted Saints praise Heav'ns great King  
 And all their Hallelujah's sing;  
 Needs must the Musick there excel  
 Where every Soul's a Philomel.  
 etc.

—R. B.

When I read this poem first, I took it to be a dialogue between two persons, but examination shows that this is not the case. The same person is speaking in both parts. We are at liberty to conjecture, since no outside personality appears to be involved, that the *Swain* in question is meant for the author T. S. If that should be a lawful conjecture, we must go further afield and search the annals of contemporary Nonconformity for the minister or layman of the name of Swain, who had the idea of improving on John Bunyan, and who persuaded so many people (numbering two editions in a twelve-month) that he was really able to go one better than the great Dreamer; but no doubt the apocryphal writer was correct in his judgment on Dreams, that they are of no account unless sent by God in the day of our visitation.



## A NOTE ON THE MIN MONTHS IN THE DREHEM CALENDAR.

BY T. FISH, PH.D.

THE following are transcriptions of Sumerian tablets in the John Rylands Library collection. They are all from Drehem and of the 3rd Ur dynasty.

- JR.* 16. 3 udu, 1 ganam, ba-ūg, ud-26-kam, ki-Na-Lul-ta (Rev.).  
Ur-nigin-gar, shu-ba-ti, itu mash-dū-kú-min, mu Si-mu-ru-um<sup>ki</sup> a-du-9-kam-ash ba-húl.
- JR.* 17. 1 sil, <sup>d</sup>Babbar, mu-du pa-te-si Gir-su<sup>ki</sup>,  
? ? <sup>d</sup>En-lil, mu-du Du(g)-ga-zi(d)-da ish,  
1 másh, <sup>d</sup>Nin-lil, mu-du Sar-ru-um-ì-lí nar, Zabar-ku mashkim,  
? ? shu-gid é-mu-shú, zi(g)-ga ud-25-kam,  
itu shesh-da-kú min, D. 42.
- JR.* 18. 2 udu-she, <sup>d</sup>Innina, An-za-am-da-tu, sha(g)-Unú<sup>ki</sup>-ga,  
<sup>d</sup>Nina-gir-gal mashkim,  
(Rev.) itu ud-29 ba-zal, zi (g)-ga, ki-Na-Lul-ta, itu shesh-da-kú min, D. 42.
- JR.* 23. 1 gukkal, 1 ganam, 2 síl-ga, ba-ūg, ud-3-kam,  
(Rev.) ki-Na-lul-ta, Ur-nigin-gar shu-ba-ti, itu ū-bil-kú min, D. 42.
- JR.* 24. 1 másh-gal-she a sig, é-uz-ga, A-a-kal-la mashkim, itu ud-24 ba-zal,  
(Rev.) ki A-hu-ni, itu ki-sìg <sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu min-kam, D. 42.
- JR.* 25. 3 udu, ba-ūg ud-26-kam, ki-Na-lul-ta, Ur-nigin-gar,  
(Rev.) shu-ba-ti, itu ki-sig <sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu min-kam, D. 42.
- JR.* 26. 4 udu-she, a-tu-a <sup>d</sup>Nin-tin-ú(g)-ga, Zabar-ku mashkim, itu ud-2-ba-zal,  
(Rev.) zi(g)-ga, ki-Na-lul, itu ezen-<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu min-kam, D. 42.
- JR.* 27. 6 udu, 6 másh, ba-ūg, ud-24-kam, ki-Na-lul-ta,  
(Rev.) Ur-nigin-gar, shu-ba-ti, itu ezen-<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu min-kam. D. 42.

JR. 39. 2 udu, 1 síl-ga, ba-ūg, ud-23-kam,  
(Rev.) ki-Na-lul-ta, Ur-nigin-gar, shu-ba-ti, itu diri(g) she-gur-kud, D. 42.

JR. 40. ? udu-she 1 másh-gal-she, Da (?) -da, <sup>d</sup>Nina-ushum-gal mashkim, itu ud-28 ba-zal,  
(Rev.) zi(g)-ga, Ki Na-lul, itu diri(g) she-gur-kud, D. 42.

JR. 242. 2 síl-ga, 1 sal-síl-ga, ù-tu(d)-da, sha(g)-na-kab-tum-ma, ud-4-kam,  
(Rev.) . . . Dun-gi-a-a-mu, ni-ku, itu ezen-maḥ, mu en-maḥ-gal an-na en<sup>d</sup>Nanna(r) ba-shú.

The texts transcribed above suggest the following note :—

*Min*, or *Min-kam*, sometimes follows the name of a month on Drehem tablets. All the instances of this phenomenon on Drehem tablets are here arranged chronologically.

Dungi 42 : *itu mash-dū-kú MIN-kam* (JR. 16) ; *itu-mash-dū-kú* (Gen. TD. 5608).

*itu shesh-da-kú MIN-kam* (JR. 17, 18 ; Legrain TRU 105) ; *itu shesh-da-kú* (TRU 25).

*itu ū-bil-kú MIN-kam* (JR. 23 ; TRU 256) ; *itu ū-bil-kú* (JR. 20).

*itu DUN-azag-kú MIN-kam*, de Genouillac, *La Trouvaille de Drehem*, 82.

*itu ki-sìg<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu MIN-kam* (JR. 24, 25 ; Dhorme SA. 8 ; Scheil HEU. 240) ; *itu ki-sìg<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu* (TRU. 28).

*itu ezen<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu Min* (JR. 26, 27) ; *itu ezen<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu* (TRU. 35).

D. 46. *itu she-gur-kud MIN-kam* (JR. 503 pub. in Bulletin of JR. Library, vol. 8 ; *itu she-gur-kud* (Keiser STD. 226).

BS. 4. *itu ezen-maḥ MIN-kam*, TRU. 36 ; de Genouillac *Tablettes de Drehem*, 5517, 5616 ; Nies., *Ur Dynasty Tablets*, 118 ; *itu ezen-maḥ* (JR. 242).

*mu Ur-bi-lum<sup>ki</sup> ba-húl, itu ki-sìg<sup>d</sup>Nin-a-zu MIN* (TRU 144).

An examination of the tablets from Drehem, dated in the 42nd year of Dungi, shows (1) that all the months, except the 6th (*itu á-ki-ti*) are represented ; (2) that the same year included 5 *MIN* months and one intercalary month (see JR. 39, 40 above). There is no

desire to stress the omission of the 6th month. It may be that I have unwittingly overlooked a tablet dated in that month, and it is quite possible that a tablet dated in that month will be published later, if none has been published already.

I cannot explain the phenomenon noted here. It seems certain that the *Min* months were not reckoned as additional months. A tablet of B.S. 4, published by Keiser in *Cuneiform Bullae*, no. 41, contains this item: "*itu mash-dū-ki-ta itu diri(g) she-gur-kud-shū, itu-13-kam.*" There were then according to the official reckoning 13 months in the 4th year of Bur Sin. In the above list of *Min* months it will be seen that in the 4th year of Bur Sin there were *itu ezen-mah* and *itu-ezen-mah-min*. Had these been reckoned as separate months there would have been 14 months, including the intercalary month, in that year.

Also, the number of days in a *MIN* month seems to be normal; e.g. *ud-29-kam . . . itu-shesh-da-ku MIN-kam*, D. 42 (JR. 18); and *ud-24-kam . . . itu ezen-mah MIN-kam*, B.S. 4 (Nies., *Ur Dynasty Tablets*, no. 118).

Nor do there seem to have been less days in the non-*MIN* months of the same name. Just now a Ryland's tablet (no. 18) was quoted, with the date: *ud 29-kam . . . itu shesh-da-ku MIN*. Legrain (TRU. 26) has a tablet bearing on its edge "*ud-28-kam*" and on the reverse side, *itu shesh-da-ku*. Both belong to the year 42 of Dungi.

In the January number of the BULLETIN, 1925, we published a Sumerian Wage List from the Rylands collection. Among the proper names occur *Ir-ri-ib* and *Ir-ri-ib MIN*, *I-shar-ba-dan* and *I-shar-ba-dan MIN*, *Shesh-kal-la*, and *Shesh-kal-la MIN*, *Ur<sup>a</sup>Ba-ú* and *Ur<sup>a</sup>Ba-ú MIN*. Clearly, *Min* here distinguishes individuals bearing the same name.

In the matter of the months, we may take it that *Min* distinguishes months bearing the same name, as the month *X* the first, and *X* the second. But it is not clear how and why the months were differentiated. It is hard to believe that the year of Dungi included 12 normal months plus 1 intercalary month plus duplicates of the first five months, i.e. 18 months in one year. Or, 17 months if one assumes, because of lack of evidence to the contrary, that the month *á-ki-ti* was not named in D. 42.

## THE ART OF READING.<sup>1</sup>

BY THE EDITOR.

THE written word and the ability to read and interpret it was always of mysterious significance to the uninitiated among the early and uncivilized races of people, because it carried meanings through distances in time and space in such an incomprehensible manner that they could not but fear and venerate it.

We recall even in comparatively modern times how Livingstone excited the wonder and awe of an African tribe as he daily perused a book which had survived the vicissitudes of travel through the dark continent. So incomprehensible to the natives was his performance with the book that they finally stole it and ate it, as the best way they knew of obtaining the white man's satisfaction from it.

This mystery of reading naturally led to a reverence for the book and also for the reader. The book became a fetich, and reading became a holy office performed by individuals possessing divine powers, who were regarded as next to the gods, and might even rule in their stead. And so it came about that for a long time reading remained in the hands of the priesthood and of the church, with the result that learning and education have ever been more or less holy things.

When we come to consider the matter, it is not surprising that reading and the book should have excited the worshipful wonder of the ages, for real reading is the medium through which the purest feelings, the loftiest inspirations, and the highest ideals that have been allowed to mankind still come to us.

The written word and the power to interpret it are wonderful gifts, and yet, readers do not understand how they get their pages read. It is a marvellous process by which the thoughts and thought wanderings, the play of the innermost feelings, and desires, and will of one soul are reflected to another soul who reads them through his

<sup>1</sup> The substance of an address to the Manchester District Library Fellowship in the John Rylands Library, on the 19th October, 1928.

books. Just what we do with eye, and mind, and nerves when we read is a question the greatest scientist that ever lived is unable to answer, any more than he can tell us by what process the thought enters the brain. These are mysteries which are outside the ken of science and natural law, before which we can only bow in wondering awe.

Although there are certain questions that cannot be answered, there are many other questions which may be very profitably expounded. For example: we may ask what is the real purpose of books, and quite reasonably expect an answer. Comparatively few readers ever trouble to enquire what a book stands for, or what there is behind a book leading up to it, and yet these are questions to which every intelligent reader should be ready at once with an answer, for it is only in this way that we can appreciate the value and importance of our literary heritage, and come to realize at what a cost it has been obtained for us.

What, then, is the real purpose of books? Briefly stated: it is to satisfy the cravings for immortality which have never been absent from any human soul since the world began. If we pause for a moment and consider, we shall realize that we are not satisfied with our present life, we want to stretch it both backwards and forwards, to live in the past and in the future as well as in the present. We have been endowed with an innate longing to know what we are and how we became what we are. We want to know how the people in the far distant past lived, what they did, where they obtained their ideas of religion, where they learned their arts; and having acquired some knowledge of their life, and character, and achievement we desire to emulate their example, and in our turn we aspire to hand on our names and the memory of our deeds to those who shall come after us. These longings and aspirations have been satisfied mainly by books, indeed, they were originally the cause why books began to be made.

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To emphasize this point we need only reflect upon the condition of mind of the man or the woman who does not read. To them there is no past, for the ages before their own time are blank. Men and women have lived, and suffered, and died, but not for them. They know only what they see, and they see but imperfectly for want of instruction, and so they stumble along in a darkness that is of their



own making, because they are unmindful, perhaps unconscious, of the fact that human labour has constructed a great highway which bridges the ages, across which knowledge of the past comes to us, and across which we are able to hold intercourse with the great master minds of the past. That highway is composed of the books which constitute our literary heritage.

To put it in another way : The student of history tells us that the pillars of our modern world rest upon the labours of the past, that it is upon the wisdom of the past that governments, laws, and social systems are founded—that the spirits of the dead rule us from their shrines.

Therefore, if we are to make progress, we must have access to the mind and memory of the human race, and these are enshrined for us in the books which form the equipment of our libraries. Without books progress would be seriously retarded, and the process of invention would be both slow and tedious in the absence of the records of past achievements which lead up to invention.

But there is still higher ground from which reading may be viewed : Whatever our sphere in life may be we shall discharge our duties more wisely and more efficiently if we know books. The vision of wider horizons, the contact with greater minds, will bring us stronger and calmer to every duty. People will not say of us that we have ceased to grow. In the interchange of daily life we shall be more interesting and more welcome if we know books.

Not only so, but reading may be a source of consolation. There have been times in the lives of everyone of us, when we have been debarred from the satisfying fellowship of our kind, when there has been no brother or sister of the heart with whom we could take counsel on work and destiny, when we needed a city of the mind into which to retreat, a city where we could find true fellowship. At such times there is no more restful, no more soothing, no more purifying place of renewal than the city of books. There we may escape from the weight of care, and from the crowd of engagements into a realm of tranquillity, whence we shall return refreshed and inspirited.

It may help us to understand something of the grandeur of this city, with its bountiful provision for the enrichment of life, if we look along the shelves of any library which is worthy of the name. There we shall find that the secular intervals of time are bridged, and that generations of men meet on a single shelf.

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BOOKS.

Then, if we look more closely, we shall discover that all the leading facts of life are there, the differences between men and men, with all the differences between ages and ages of the world. If our minds are properly attuned we shall hear the laughter and the sobs of mankind, and we shall understand, as perhaps never before, something of the labours of mankind, of their successes, of their useless sacrifices of which there are so many in history, of the idle dreams with all their mischiefs, of the strong and steadfast efforts for good with all their blessings and their glories. Indeed, we shall find there the whole overwhelming dream of humanity, and we shall come away from such a scrutiny feeling the true pathos of humanity, with the mystery of time, more than in any other way.

At the same time we shall discern something of the power of books to annihilate space and time, and, like a magic carpet, transport us into regions the most remote. It is possible by their aid to witness unharmed the plague at Athens, or Florence, or London ; to accompany Cæsar on his marches ; to look in upon Cataline in council with his fellow-conspirators, or witness the signing of Magna Charta at Runnymede. It may be that opportunities of foreign travel and exploration have been denied to us, but through the medium of books we may rove the dark continent with Livingstone and Stanley, explore the sources of the Nile with Speke, penetrate to the shrine of Allah's Prophet at Mecca with Sir Richard Burton, accompany Nansen to the Frozen North, follow Captain Scott in his quest of the South Pole, or we may wander through Arabia with Doughty, or Lawrence, or Miss Bell, or Philby.

This world of books is our common heritage, but before we can enter into it we must gain possession of the key that unlocks it, and that key is the art of reading.

Now reading is an art that needs to be cultivated, for nobody cares for it to begin with. It is never too late to begin. It is true, however, that the great readers of the world began very early, and that what we read in early life impresses the mind much more deeply than what we read later. Nevertheless, a real love of reading may come late in life, although, in this, as in most other things, delays are dangerous, for an unused organ becomes atrophied, and a facility too long postponed is difficult if not impossible to be acquired. It is related of a man of

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affairs, who had wanted all his life to read, and had collected a fine library for the time when he should have the leisure to enjoy it, that he found to his dismay, when the opportunity for which he had long waited came with his physician's order to take a year's rest from business, he could not read, because he had never learned how, and was unable to keep his mind fixed on the page. He had thought that a man could read just as easily as he could walk, but he discovered that it was an art, and with shame he had to confess that he had never cultivated it. The tools were within his reach but he could not use them.

If we wish to care for reading we must begin to read and go on reading until we really care for it. The first trials in any game are never pleasant. When we begin golf we are exasperated by our failures, but if we persevere we acquire some skill, and after that we go on. It is precisely the same in reading, if we begin by reading the things we like, within certain obvious limitations, and persevere in the practice, we shall gradually discover that we have formed the most pleasant of habits. In this, as in every other branch of art, the price of success is work. People who expect to be able to read must serve an apprenticeship, and that entails work.

To read all the books that have been written, and to keep pace with those that are being written, is clearly impossible, and therefore as Aristotle would say "about what is SELECTION. impossible one does not argue."

Life being the length it is, and time and opportunity being so brief, we must make selection from the enormous mass of printed matter which confronts us. Even the ripest scholar is puzzled to decide what books to read among the myriads that clamour for his attention. If in Bacon's time some books were to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested, how much greater must be the need of discrimination and guidance to-day if we are to make the most of our time, and fortunately such guidance is now readily available.

Some fifty years ago the "Pall Mall Gazette" made an effort to solve the riddle by inviting a number of eminent men to compile lists of the hundred best books.

We may very reasonably ask "Under what conditions is a book a best book?" It depends upon our mood. There are moods in

which we prefer "Pickwick" to "The Golden Bough" or "The Rig Veda," and find that it does us much more good. There is little doubt that if any man honestly set himself to read the hundred best books in any list right through he would become so satiated as never to wish to read another volume. The best literature for everybody is that which they can best assimilate. No intellectual stomach will digest everything. It is better to read twenty books twice than to have read the so-called hundred best books once.

But the "Pall Mall Gazette" like "Everyman" was in search of masterpieces, and our trust will in the end repose in masterpieces, those great classics which in any language are neither numerous nor difficult to detect, nor forbidding by reason of their difficulty.

Our true classic is not only universal but permanent. Whilst bearing the imprint of the times and of the personality of its writer, it remains significant or acquires a new significance after the age for which it was written, and the conditions under which it was written have passed away, and yet it remains undefaced by handling. In other words : the classic is superior to the ebb and flow of popular fancy and critical opinion, and refuses to die.

This, however, must be said, that it is a great mistake to toil through masterpieces without caring for them or understanding them, and in doing so to feel that we have done a virtuous act when we have completed it. To understand and appreciate masterpieces we have to be educated into the appreciation of what is supremely good. No one has more than a certain stock of receptiveness given him by the Almighty, and if that is already exhausted by the newspaper and the ephemeral in literature, what time have we left to give to the Dantes, the Petrarchs, and the Shakespeares ?

We cannot altogether dispense with the reading of newspapers, for they are necessary to us if we are to keep in touch with the world movements ; but we must not allow this engrossing form of literature so to monopolize our time as to cause us to neglect the higher forms. What we should strive to do is to keep our hearts and brains close to the great hearts and brains of the past. Labruyère, in one of his "Caractères" speaks thus : "When what you read elevates your mind and fills you with noble aspirations look for no other rule by which to judge your book. It is good and is the work of a master mind."

When we begin to read we should read slowly and deliberately, just as a pedestrian setting out on a long journey starts at a moderate pace, quickening it as his muscles get into full play, and as his limbs become accustomed to the exercise. This suggestion may not be favourable to rapid reading, but it will ensure thorough reading. It is not the multitude of books that gives wisdom, it is not how much we read that should concern us, but how much we retain. It is better to master a dozen books completely than to dash through a hundred in the common fashion, which resembles closely the case of the tourist who hurries through the finest scenery in an express train without detecting any of its remarkable features.

But those dozen books should be literature. It is needless to say that not all books are literature. We should all agree LITERA-  
TURE. as to the place which should be assigned to a railway guide, a cookery book, "Paradise Lost," or "Pilgrim's Progress," but there is a border country which may be described as the region of uncertainty. Charles Lamb, half-humorously it is true, narrowed the conception of literature to such an extent as to exclude the works of Hume, Gibbon, and Josephus, together with directories, almanacs, and draught-boards bound and lettered as books. Few of us would care to adopt Lamb's view, but this question of delimitation is one to which, as yet, no final answer has been given.

For our purpose we shall get an idea of literature sufficiently broad and accurate if we lay stress upon two considerations. In the first place literature is composed of those books, and those books only, which by reason of their subject matter and their mode of treating it are of great human interest, and in which, in the second place, the element of form and the pleasure which form gives are to be regarded as essential.

A piece of literature differs from a specialized treatise on astronomy, or on political economy, or philosophy, or even history, in part, because it appeals not to a particular class of readers only, but to men and women as men and women; and in part because while the treatise is simply to impart knowledge, one ideal end of the piece of literature, whether it also imparts knowledge or not, is to yield æsthetic satisfaction by the manner in which it handles it. We care for literature primarily on account of its deep and lasting human significance. A great book grows directly out of life, and in reading it we are brought



into large, close, and fresh relations with life, and in that fact lies the final explanation of its power. Fundamentally, literature is an expression of life through the medium of language, and it lives by virtue of the life which it embodies. It has been described as the loom upon which the threads of history are woven into pictures.

Therefore, it is in life that we have to seek the sources of literature, or the impulses which have given birth to the various forms of literary expression. The great impulses behind literature may be described as : the desire for self-expression ; interest in people and their doings ; interest in the world of reality in which we live, and in the world of imagination which we conjure into existence ; and our love of form as form.

Man is a social being possessing social instincts, and by the constitution of his nature he is unable to keep his experiences, his observations, his emotions, and his fancies to himself. He desires to impart them to those about him, and the channels of expression which he has opened up constitute the various forms of literature. At bottom literature is an interpretation of life as life shapes itself in the mind of the interpreter. The mirror which the writer holds up to the world about him is of necessity the mirror of his own personality. His book is born of his brain and his heart. He has put himself into its pages so that they partake of his life and are instinct with his individuality, which is not necessarily of an aggressive domineering egoism, for often it is of a gracious and impelling charm, as in the case of St. Augustine, Thomas à Kempis, Pascal, Dante, Bunyan, William Law, and their kindred.

Therefore, it is with the interpreter first that we have to do. It is to the man in the book, to begin with, that we have to find our way. We must get to know him as an individual and establish personal intercourse with him.

A great book owes its greatness to the greatness of the personality which gave it life. What we call genius is only another name for freshness and originality of outlook upon the world of thought. The book is a great book in that it has something fresh and original to say, and that it says it in a fresh and original way. It is the utterance of one who has himself been close to those aspects of life of which he speaks, and who has the artist's wonderful faculty of making us see and feel with him. Milton expresses the idea

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BOOKS.

very beautifully when he says: "A good book is the precious life blood of a master spirit embalmed and treasured up for a life beyond life." The preliminary step to all profitable reading is to throw open our whole nature to the quickening influence of such a master spirit, and allow his life blood to flow freely through our veins. Carlyle urges us to distinguish between the genuine voices and the mere echoes, between the men who speak for themselves, and those who speak only on the report of others. What does he mean? Charlotte Brontë had caught Carlyle's meaning when she wrote of George Henry Lewes's "Ranthorpe," that she had read a new book, not a reprint, not a reflection of any other book, but a new book.

If we are to establish the intercourse between the author and ourselves, to which reference has been made already, we must listen attentively to what he has to tell us, and do our best to enter sympathetically into his thought and feeling. We must note carefully how he looked at life, what he found in it, and what he brought away from it. We must observe how the world of experience impressed him, and how it is interpreted through his personality. In this way we get to know the man as the man reveals himself in what he has written.

The relations between literature and life are very vital. It is by means of this personal intercourse that we are made partakers of a life which is larger, richer, and more varied than we ourselves can ever know of our own individual knowledge, and it does that because it carries us beyond the pinched, meagre humanity of our every day round of existence into contact with the fresh, strong, and magnetic personalities, who have enshrined themselves in the world's great books.

Taking this as the point of departure, we must in the next place make our reading broad and sympathetic. The essential difference between the mere reader and the student of literature is that one reads in a haphazard desultory way, whilst the other organizes his reading to some regularly ordered plan. So long as we take simply a book here and a book there as chance or the whim of the hour may dictate, we are merely readers; it is only when we introduce method into our reading that we become students.

It is obvious, therefore, that our natural course is to pass from the reading of books to the study of authors. Our first aim must be to establish personal relations with the man in his work. We must consider his writings not as isolated productions, but in their relation

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OR  
STUDENT.

with one another as an organic whole, and with the man himself, with the growth of his mind, with the changes of his temper and thought, and the influence upon him of his experiences in the world.

Take Shakespeare as an illustration. We may read and often do read Shakespeare's plays without the slightest idea of sequence of method, jumping from the "Comedy of Errors," to "King Lear," and from the "Tempest" back to "A Midsummer Night's Dream," and no one can deny the delight and profit to be derived from such random reading. But though we may get to know much of Shakespeare in that way there is much we cannot know. We have still to study these plays as diverse expressions of one and the same genius, to compare and contrast them in matter and spirit, in form and style, to conceive them as products of a single individual power revealing itself at different periods in curiously varying moods, now in one, now in another of them.

That explains the reason for introducing system into our reading. Recognizing this necessity, the best course to pursue is to study a writer's works in the order of their production. The works then become a luminous record of his inner life and craftsmanship, and we are able to follow in them the various phases of his experience, the stages of his mental growth, and the changes undergone by his art. Only in this way can we obtain a substantial sense of the progressive revelation of Shakespeare's genius and power. And what applies to Shakespeare will hold equally good in the case of every other writer who is worthy of systematic study.

When we suggest that an author's works should be studied in the order of their production we do not mean literally everything he has written, but simply everything which is really vital and important as an expression of his genius. There is a mania to-day for collecting and preserving every scrap which any great author allowed to remain unpublished, the chips from his workshop, which have been gleaned from his note-books, even from his waste-paper basket. Most writers leave behind them a considerable body of unpublished work, which is either tentative or experimental, and adds nothing to the sum total of their real contributions to the world's literature. This may be of value to the research student intent upon an exhaustive investigation of a given author, but to begin with we may safely disregard it.

By this method of studying an author's works in the order of their

production we shall find ourselves constantly comparing and contrasting a man with himself, and later with others who worked in the same field, who dealt with the same problems, who wrote under similar conditions, or, who, for any other reason are naturally associated with him in our minds. And as we enter more and more into our reading we shall find this comparative study growing upon us until it becomes second nature.

The student of Shakespeare inevitably turns to the contemporaries of the Master, to men like Marlowe, Green, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Webster, and marks the points of resemblance as well as the points of difference. He also turns to the other men who prepared the ground for Shakespeare, and made it possible for him to produce the works which have immortalized his name, and in so doing he realizes the essential qualities of Shakespeare's genius and art.

We throw a flood of new light upon Tennyson and Browning when we read them side by side. Thackeray furnishes us with an illuminating commentary on Dickens, and Dickens performs the same service for Thackeray.

Only in this way can we enter into the spirit of our author and penetrate into the vital forces of his personality. That was how Petrarch entered into that close and intimate relationship with Vergil, and Cicero, and Horace, and Homer. These great classical writers were not mysteriously distant and supernatural beings, they were friends, and friends to whom from time to time, as he entered into their spirit and became better acquainted with their writings, Petrarch wrote letters telling them how they had enriched his life, not hesitating to point out to them the inconsistencies between their teaching, and their lives, and the disappointments and pain these defects had caused him. That is entering into the spirit of our author! That is what George Gilfillan meant when he said: "Do not slavishly mumble the words of your author, and cry 'Amen' to his every conclusion, but read him with suspicion, with inquiry, with a free exercise of your own mental faculties, with the admiration of intelligence, and not with the wonder of ignorance."

As soon as our interest in the writings of any great writer has been awakened we shall wish to know something of the <sup>BIO.</sup> man himself, as a man, beyond that which his work <sup>GRAPHY.</sup> reveals. We shall be curious to see him in his daily conversation

with his fellows, to learn something of his ambitions, his struggles, his successes, and the connection of his book with these. Only in this way shall we be able to understand his point of view.

Matthew Arnold and Saintsbury both protest against the introduction of much biographical matter into critical estimates, and it is true that too much or too intrusive a knowledge of a man's life may withdraw our attention from the essential qualities of his work. Saintsbury defines the author's position thus : "This I have done for the public, judge this, I did not pretend to offer my life for your criticism but only such of it as I have put into my book." And perhaps it is more just, at any rate it is more generous, to judge a man's life by his work than to judge his book by his life.

It remains to be said, however, that to a considerable extent the charm of all literature resides largely in the personality of the author, that indefinable quality, or rather combination of qualities by virtue of which he was himself differentiated from every other being. Any good and great book makes one feel that. By acquainting ourselves with the deciding facts of an author's life we deepen our sense of his individuality. Indeed, we shall understand his work better if we can put ourselves to some degree in his place.

Sir Walter Scott was a man who never was his own hero. He never worked up his own history into literary shape, he never had anything to say of his own feelings or circumstances. And yet we enter more thoroughly into the spirit both of his poetry and his fiction after we have become familiar with his life.

If that is true of Scott how much more true it is of such authors as Samuel Johnson and Charles Lamb. The work of such an author as Lamb is, in fact, all autobiography and nothing else. He is telling us of himself. His own personality is the whole subject of his work. Our appreciation of him is doubled when we come to be familiarly acquainted with the facts of his life.

Therefore, side by side upon the shelf with the books of any author we really care for a place should be made for some well-chosen account of his life. The youth of an author frequently offers the richest field for enquiry into the influences moulding his genius and the illusive process of its growth. Take, for example, Mrs. Hardy's "Early life of Thomas Hardy," it is the stuff of Hardy's life. We should not, however, allow ourselves to be carried away by the craze for mere personal detail which has developed so much



of late. There is no reason why we should entangle ourselves in the mass of controversial literature of the kind which deals with the Carlyle's home life and domestic relations. These details add nothing of real significance to the essential personality and character of the author of "Sartor Resartus" and "Past and Present"; it is with Carlyle as the great prophet and literary artist that we ought to be concerned. Sometimes a seemingly insignificant fact will prove to be unexpectedly illuminating and suggestive. On the other hand, phases of a man's career important and interesting in themselves will turn out upon examination to have so little to do with his work that on the literary side they will mean nothing. Much will depend upon the particular instance. In the case of Dante and Goethe their writings can hardly be understood when detached from their life. Goethe's works according to his own description of them, are but fragments of a great personal confession. No hard and fast rule can be laid down. We must guard against confusing the means with the end to be obtained. This, however, must be said, biography in itself is always interesting and generally profitable, but the study of biography is not the study of literature, and should never be made a substitute for it.

It is highly desirable that in our reading we should cultivate the spirit of sympathy with our author. We cannot expect our personal relations with all the great writers we may SYMPATHY. take up to be uniformly intimate and agreeable. Our own temperament has to be reckoned with. Literature contains many different personalities and we sometimes have our own marked leanings and antipathies. Honest likes and dislikes are never to be despised. No critic has a right to impose his own judgment upon us, and to condemn us as hopelessly lacking in taste because we cannot enjoy or admire this or that book. We must remember, however, that many authors should prove interesting even when, and occasionally because, they are intellectual and moral aliens to us. We must also remember that contact with many different kinds of personality, which often challenge our own, increases the flexibility of our mind, the breadth of our outlook, the catholicity of our tastes and of our judgment. In that way the value of literature as a means of culture becomes great. It is necessary, therefore, to exercise a certain amount of patience in our dealings with writers who at first rather repel than attract. The fault may be entirely with ourselves, in prejudices which we should strive to overcome, in mere inability to

place ourselves at their point of view, or even to rise to the level of their thought and power.

The best method of guarding against the danger of reading what is useless is to read only what is interesting. Many people read a book principally with the object of getting USELESS READING. through it. They reach the word "Finis" with the same sensation of triumph as an Indian feels when he adds a fresh scalp to his girdle. To begin a volume and not to finish it would be to deprive themselves of the satisfaction of having marked some definite step in the weary path of self-improvement, to lose all the reward of their self-denial. To skip according to their literary code is a species of cheating, but this is quite wrong. We have only half-learned the art of reading until we have added to it the even more refined accomplishment of skipping and skimming.

Professor Cavanagh, the psychologist, has made some interesting observations on the subject of the pace at which we read. RAPID READING. He remarks that many, perhaps most, people read too slowly, and could by a conscious effort speed up their reading by something like fifty per cent., and paradoxical as it may appear quicker reading is more efficient. Apart from mere skimming the quick reader understands and remembers better than the slow reader. In this, as in many other cases, modern psychology has shown the old adage "slow and sure" to be a fallacy. Quick reading leads to alertness of mind. By increasing the speed we shall very likely remember more easily what we have read. Tests have been made and have shown that the quickest readers are best at answering questions on the subject-matter of their reading.

There is just one note of warning that may be struck here. It is that we must not imagine we know books simply by reading about them. We must read them for ourselves. There is a passage in Richard Moulton's "Literary History of the Bible" which is very much to the point. He strikes a warning note in the following passage: "We have done everything with the Bible, we have overlaid it with commentaries, we have translated it, revised the translations, quarrelled over the revisions, discussed authenticity, inspiration, and textual history, epitomized it, extracted lessons from it; and yet there remains one thing left to be done, that is: simply to read it." And what applies to the Bible applies equally to every great book that ever was written.

To read a book a single time is but to savour it. Every good book will seem better at the second reading than at the first. It is not until the second or the third reading that we begin to acquire a sense of the book's perspective, and of the relative importance of its parts. Then it is that the excellencies of it begin to gain emphasis, and the notable passages begin to lodge themselves in the memory. The man or the woman who reads for love does not trouble whether they have read a book once or twice or twenty times.

In conclusion, we venture to recall and to commend a very helpful practice which, to a considerable extent, has fallen into disuse. We refer to the practice of reading aloud.

READING  
ALLOUD.

There is no finer aid to the charm and music which resides in literature in its various forms than this practice, which is as old as literature itself. The art of printing has done much to dull our literary perception. Words have a double value: that which resides in the sense, and that which resides in the sound. We miss much of the charm if the eye is made to do duty also for the ear, for the words bereft of their vocal force are but half alive on the printed page. The music of poetry when repeated only to the inward ear comes merely as a faint echo. If poetry is musical speech, if it owes much of its beauty, its magic, its peculiar power of stirring the feelings, and of arousing the imagination, to its verbal felicity, and its varied melodies of metre and rhyme, then its full significance as poetry can be appreciated only when it addresses us through the ear. The silent perusal of the printed page will leave one of its principal secrets unsurprised.

It is a fact but little remembered to-day that throughout the Greek period and far into the days of the Roman empire, down to the third and fourth centuries of our own era, the custom survived of reading both prose and poetry not silently but aloud and in company. Indeed, before literature had entered into partnership with commerce, when she was cultivated for her own sake, the publication of a piece of literature consisted in its being read by the author to an assembled company of invited guests, whose approval or disapproval decided the fate of the work.

Another great advantage which this practice of reading aloud possesses, is that it will preserve us from the wandering mind, because the sound of the voice keeps the mind alert and fixed upon the subject with which we are engaged.

Therefore, we should make it a practice to read aloud. We should start off by reading at the long breath, and as persuasively as possible. We should not, at first, pause to indicate some particular beauty by repeating the line before we proceed; we should read straight through to the end, and then recur to particular beauties. In that way we shall allow our author, whether it be Chaucer, Shakespeare, Spenser, Milton, Bunyan, Tennyson, Browning, or Masfield to have their own way, and as a result we shall find that we have gained a new revelation of the writer's personality. At the same time we shall have discovered that the golden key of the voice enables us to unlock the inner shrines of literature.

One other suggestion we venture to offer to readers. It is that when we are making acquaintance for the first time with a piece of literature, we should not, to begin with, trouble about reading notes, or comments, or even pictures, we should even ignore what at first we do not understand. If we desire to form our own independent opinion of the work we have taken up we should avoid an illustrated edition, otherwise our opinions will be influenced by the artist's interpretation of the text. We should form our own mental pictures by allowing our imagination to have full play. There are persons who seem to walk through life with their eyes open yet seeing nothing, and there are others who read through books, even cram their minds with facts, without carrying away any living picture of significant story which might arouse their fancy in an hour of leisure, or gird them with endurance in a moment of difficulty.

Therefore, when we have been reading a poem, a play, a novel, or a chapter of some notable work, perhaps at the close of the day, we should lay down our book, lean back in our chair, close our eyes, and ask ourselves what we see in the glowing gallery of our mind. If instead of the word picture we found on the cold grey page of the printed volume, we find upon the canvas of our brain a picture which is full of colour and pulsating with life we may claim to have made our own that which we had been reading. That is what Russell Lowell meant when he said: "think not you know a fact of history when you know that it took place, only when you see it as it actually did take place." In other words: take the dry bones of history, and by the help of the imagination clothe them with flesh and blood and make them pulsate with life.

## CULTURE, COMMERCE, AND INDUSTRY IN MANCHESTER.<sup>1</sup>

IT was customary not many years ago to separate culture from business and industry, with very questionable results.

The contention was that great libraries, universities, and institutions of that character were well enough for such places as Oxford and Cambridge, but that Manchester existed to supply us with cotton, Leeds and Bradford with woollen goods, Newcastle with coals, Leicester and Nottingham with hosiery, and there was no need to trouble about supplying these places with the instruments of higher culture.

That this attitude of mind still survives to some extent was revealed quite recently, when one of the so-called captains of industry was heard to remark that he had no belief in all the present-day talk about education ; "what is wanted," he declared, "are machines with which to increase our industrial output and the world's commerce." No one can deny the importance of machines, the world is full of them, and their purpose is to save time, and space, and money. This, however, must be said : that no matter how perfect a machine may be it is the man behind the machine that makes it go, and that the extent to which any machine will fulfil the purpose of its installation depends upon the man controlling it. Unless the right man is selected for the job the machine will suffer, and not the machine alone. The machine is a product of man's own brain and hand ; it is his child, and if properly treated it is the most docile and helpful child he has produced. One man is able to get more out of a machine than another, because he has a kind of a sympathy with it, and it responds to his touch. That being the case it stands to reason that

<sup>1</sup> This short article was printed in the "Manchester Evening News," in a much abbreviated form, and we venture to print it here as it was originally written.



the mind must be cared for if the hand has to do the work, and that, surely, is the function of education ; and to the credit of a number of the commercial and industrial firms in this great community it should be stated that they have realised their responsibility in this matter, and with great vision and foresight are offering every facility to their younger employees in particular to continue their general and technical training. Education is not a matter of the early years only, it is a matter of the whole life, for as soon as we cease to learn the mind ceases to grow. The primary object of education is to give the pupil the desire to learn, but the real part of his education commences when he steps out from the school or from the university into life. Sir Walter Scott was quite right when he said "the better part of every man's education is that which he gives to himself."

One of the immediate and far-reaching results of the widespread employment of machinery is that much time has been saved, and thousands of people who formerly worked all day now have leisure ; unfortunately, many of them do not know what to do with it. Could they but be made to realise how much the thoughts and desires indulged in during leisure react upon the whole outlook of life, the relationship between culture and industrial concerns would change from an ill-disguised mutual contempt to serious and whole-hearted collaboration. The man or the woman who could show the world how to employ its leisure to advantage would be a greater benefactor than any of the great inventors of machines.

True civilisation lies not in machines but in mind and soul. The most highly civilised nation of history was Athens in the fifth century B.C., and the people of Athens scarcely knew what a machine was, but they were one of the most cultured races of our planet. To them the poet was the teacher, and Homer who was the greatest of their poets was the greatest of their teachers ; and we might with advantage follow their example and turn our attention to literature, and therewith employ our leisure. It is quite true that poetry will not make a machine, that it may not directly earn us one shilling of money, but it will fill the mind with wisdom and beauty. Many of our foremost scientists have been assisted to their most important discoveries by the quickening power of a suggestive imagination, and the food of the imagination may be said to consist of those masterpieces of the great imaginative artists, which are so instinct with life that they refuse to

die. Those great books are to be found upon the shelves of any public library which is worthy of the name.

It is quite true that a man may live and live bravely without imagination, just as a house may be well compacted to keep out rain and let in light, and yet be ugly ; but no man would prefer to live in an ugly house if he could have a beautiful one, and so beauty, which is the natural food of a healthy imagination should be sought after by every one anxious to make the most of himself. Shelley held that if a man strengthens his imagination by intellectual stimulants he is likely to be a better man, because strength of sympathy depends on strength of imagination, and kindness issues from sympathy.

Not only is the divorce of culture from commerce singularly unwise but it is opposed to the best traditions of European history. The mediæval city richest in art and letters, and in the genius which excelled in both, was not Rome, or Cologne, or Canterbury, where royal popes and regal archbishops reigned, nor was it Bologna, or Paris, or Oxford, cities of famous universities, but Florence, the city of commerce and of merchants, whose greatest sons were Dante, Michel Angelo, Giotto, Machiavelli, Savonarola, and the Medici. The people of Florence in the fifteenth century were a sober, striving, industrious race of citizens engaged from day to day in the work of the day, but their interests were not concentrated upon the struggle for material subsistence. They had a passion for the city, a sense of citizenship, a love for what was beautiful, and a critical sense which enabled them to distinguish between false beauty and true. Their patriotism found expression in beautifying the city by noble public and private buildings. Indeed, there was not a department of life in which art did not have its recognised and appropriate place. But, before all things, Florence was essentially a commercial city. It was the wealth resulting from her commercial prosperity and the consequences which follow from wealth that determined the bent of her intellectual and artistic activities. It was the oil of commerce which kept the lamp of culture burning.

Again, the city that did most of all Italian cities for printing the ancient humanities, the city that made Greece articulate to modern minds was not imperial Vienna, or kingly Madrid, or royal Paris, but commercial Venice, the city of Saint Mark, "that fair and famed queen of the Adriatic." She was at one and the same time an

emporium and a centre of art and culture ; her art was the better for her commerce, just as her commerce was the better for her culture.

These cities, like Genoa, Nuremberg, Antwerp, and many another of the Middle Ages, finding it impossible to live by bread alone, built up those great monuments of culture and art which excite our admiration and our envy to-day. It is not, therefore, exceptional, but historical that Manchester, this metropolis of the North, not content with the position of commercial supremacy to which she had raised herself, should, during the last three-quarters of a century, make determined efforts to place herself in the front rank of cities which are true cities, efforts in which, aided by the benefactions of many of the citizens she has delighted to honour, and whose names have become household words, she has been eminently successful. Not only has she raised herself to university rank, but to a position of eminence among the universities of the world. She has provided herself with colleges and schools which, in point of equipment and efficiency, are probably without equal. Her art galleries are amongst the most important in the country, and she is justly proud of her museum. She has furnished a home for the drama, and it was here in Manchester that the repertory theatre came to life. Music has been said to divide with Mammon the devotion of the people of Manchester, and in addition to an orchestra of international repute she possesses one of the finest music libraries in the country. Literature, too, has found not merely a hospitable shelter but a home in this city, which can also claim to have more journalists than any city outside London, and the most literary daily newspaper in this or in any country. In the matter of libraries, from the time when the first rate-supported public library was established in 1852, libraries have gone on multiplying in and around the city, until to-day Manchester is regarded as one of the most important library centres in the world. There are in the city considerably more than a million volumes to which readers have access, amongst which are many of the world's most famous literary treasures. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that she has become a place of pilgrimage for the lover of rare and beautiful books, and at the same time a centre of attraction for scholars from all parts of the world.

As a result, it is not too much to say that the educational and cultural facilities which Manchester offers are now singularly complete ; from the lowest rung of the educational ladder to the highest there is

no gap, and each year many examples show what a career is open to character and ability.

These instruments of culture are intended to benefit all classes of the community : not only the leisured classes but also the workers. Many of the men who have seen visions and dreamed dreams of great things have been not men of the leisured and wealthy classes, but sons of toil, men like Paul the tentmaker, Epictetus the slave, Piers the ploughman, Shakespeare the actor, John Bunyan the brazier, Robert Burns the farmer. In the realms of commerce and industry great ideals have been and may yet be born, for idealism is the heritage of those who labour, redeeming them from that which seems to soil and begrime.

Thus, by cultivating a large and generous idealism, our city stands proudly alongside the great merchant cities of the world. She bears a name that is honoured in letters, in art, and in the achievement of what we call culture and refinement, as in those that adorn secular life. Disraeli, in "Coningsby," mentions her in the same breath as Athens.

Here in Manchester, as in the case of Florence and the other great cities of a bygone age to which reference has been made, we are proud to say that it is the oil of commerce and industry that keeps the lamp of culture burning.

# HAND-LIST OF THE COLLECTION OF ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, 1928.

By MOSES TYSON, M.A., PH.D.

KEEPER OF WESTERN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS  
LIBRARY.

THE present hand-list has been prepared with the view of facilitating the use by students of the English section of Western manuscripts in the John Rylands Library. Each manuscript is very briefly described, its provenance is indicated, and if it has formerly belonged to some well-known collection the old number is also given.

The collection of English manuscripts may be said to have originated with the purchase by Mrs. Rylands in 1891 of a considerable part of the important and interesting collection of autograph letters and historical documents formed by the late Rev. Thomas Raffles, D.D., LL.D., of Liverpool.<sup>1</sup> A few more English manuscripts<sup>2</sup> were acquired when the Althorp Library was purchased from Earl Spencer in 1892; a small but extremely important group<sup>3</sup> was added on the occasion of the sale in 1899 of the part of the collection of manuscripts made by the 5th Earl of Ashburnham which was generally referred to as the "Ashburnham Appendix"; and in 1901 the magnificent collection of manuscripts of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres was purchased for the Library and included seventy-five English manuscripts.<sup>4</sup> Since 1901 the collection has increased in numbers and interest as a result of gifts to the Library and of purchases made at

<sup>1</sup> English MSS., Nos. 115, 116, 334, 335, 343-387, 401-403. An account of the collection of the Rev. Thomas Raffles and of his son, the late Thomas Stamford Raffles, Esq., is given in *The Sixth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, Pt. I., pp. 468-475.

<sup>2</sup> English MSS., Nos. 47-49, 52, 53, 62-72, 74.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 75-87, 92.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 1-7, 9-46, 478-507.



sales and from booksellers. A considerable number of these accessions were formerly in the Library of Sir Thomas Phillipps.<sup>1</sup>

The manuscripts vary greatly in importance and subject-matter. A number of them are of general interest and would be noteworthy in any collection. In particular mention may be made of two remarkably fine English manuscripts written in the first half of the fifteenth century, namely the richly illuminated copy of John Lydgate's "Siege of Troy" (1) and the same author's translation of Boccaccio's "Falle of Princes" (2); of a copy of Wiclif's translation of the Gospels which is supposed to have been presented to Queen Elizabeth in January, 1558-59, as she passed down Cheapside<sup>2</sup> on her way to St. Paul's Cathedral (3); of a curious vellum roll bearing Queen Elizabeth's signature and recording the New Year's gifts made by and to the queen in 1559 (117); and of a form of cury<sup>3</sup> by the master cook of Richard II. (7).

There are no fewer than fifteen manuscripts of the Wiclifite Bible or of parts of the Bible, written in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries and providing examples both of the earlier<sup>4</sup> and later<sup>5</sup> forms of the Wiclifite translations; various Wiclifite treatises (85, 86); "The Pore Caitiff" (85, 87, 412); three MSS. of "The Prick of Conscience" (50, 51, 90); Nicholas Love's translation of Bonaventura's "The Life of Christ" (94, 98, 413); and various fifteenth-century sermons (109). Other manuscripts relating to religious history of a later date include a large number of notes and transcripts of manuscripts, concerned with Commonwealth Church History and the History of Dissent, by Dr. W. A. Shaw, M.A., Litt.D., of the Public Record Office.<sup>6</sup>

Works of literary interest apart from those mentioned above are not numerous, but they range from fifteenth century MSS. of

<sup>1</sup> English MSS., Nos. 8, 112, 171-198, 208-212, 416, 469.

<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested that it is the book referred to in Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (London, 1808), iv, p. 168.

<sup>3</sup> This work was edited from another MS. by Samuel Pegge, London, 1780.

<sup>4</sup> English MSS., Nos. 81, 89, 92. A more detailed description of certain of the Wiclifite MSS., indicated in the following list, is given in the Rev. J. Forshall and Sir F. Madden's *Wycliffite Versions of the Holy Bible* (Oxford, 1850, i, pp. lxii-lxiii).

<sup>5</sup> English MSS., Nos. 3, 75-80, 82-84, 88, 89, 91.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 441-460.

Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales" (63, 113) to an autograph MS. of the late Mr. Thomas Hardy (124). The large collection of autographs, also, includes many papers which have a considerable literary and historical value. Thirty manuscripts are part of a collection<sup>1</sup> of manuscripts, in Irish or of Irish interest, acquired by the Earl of Crawford in 1875 at the sale of the library of the Irish scholar, Denis Henry Kelly, M.R.I.A.<sup>2</sup> They include many translations into English by Kelly and others of early Irish poems and prose works.

The proportion of manuscripts of interest to the historian is fairly high. They include six copies of the Brute chronicle,<sup>3</sup> several with long continuations; useful collections of historical papers; a large collection of material bearing on the history of the seventeenth century; and two collections of papers relating to the history of the British in India and, in particular, of the East India Company.

The period of the Civil War had special interest for the late Mr. Edward Peacock, J.P. († 1915), of Bottesford Manor, Lincolnshire, and for the late Mr. W. Duncombe Pink († 1924), of Leigh, Lancashire, and their papers, notes, and transcripts, which are very numerous, are in the Library. Mr. Pink's papers mainly consist of a large quantity of material gathered together with the object of compiling a biographical dictionary of Members of Parliament. The dictionary was unfinished at the time of Mr. Pink's death, but the material has already proved of very considerable value to students.

A collection of news-letters (114) for the years 1667 to 1679 deserves special notice. Letter No. 34 has the following note which indicates the provenance of a number of the letters: "Sir, Mr. Williamson having committed to me y<sup>e</sup> care of his private correspondances I have thought fitt to acquaint you w<sup>t</sup> it y<sup>t</sup> in all itt<sup>s</sup> concern<sup>mts</sup> you may please to adresse your comaundes solely to me att ye L<sup>d</sup> Arlingtons Office att Whitehall. Your humble serv<sup>t</sup> Charles Perrott."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> English MSS. Nos. 478-507. A handlist of the Irish MSS. in the Library, including the remainder of the above collection, is in course of preparation. They include a number of transcripts of early Irish MSS. with English translations in parallel columns.

<sup>2</sup> For D. H. Kelly (1797-1877) see D. J. O'Donoghue's *The Poets of Ireland* (Dublin, 1912).

<sup>3</sup> English MSS., Nos. 102-105, 206, 207.

<sup>4</sup> For Sir Joseph Williamson (1633-1701), see *The Dictionary of National Biography*.

The greater part of one collection of papers and letters on Indian affairs, recently in the possession of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps, belonged originally to Richard Johnson, an officer of the East India Company. Johnson, whose name frequently crops up in the correspondence of Warren Hastings from 1780 onwards, was for a time assistant to Nathaniel Middleton at Lucknow and in 1784, much to Hastings' disapproval, was appointed Resident at Hyderabad. He was described by Sir John Day as "a beardless Machiavel" and as being largely influenced by motives of self-interest. Mr. Sydney C. Grier, giving a short account of Johnson,<sup>1</sup> says that he "seems to have been one of the people who must have a finger in every pie." His papers and letters are useful materials for those interested in Warren Hastings and in Indian affairs of the second half of the eighteenth century.

The other collection of papers and transcripts of manuscripts relating to India is, for the most part, later in date. They evidently belonged to John Charles Mason (1798-1881), who was appointed secretary in 1837 of the newly-formed Marine branch of the secretary's office of the East India Company, and afterwards, in 1859, became secretary of the Marine and Transport Department at East India House, Leadenhall Street, and later at the India Office, Whitehall.<sup>2</sup> He arranged the transport of troops and supplies to India on the occasion of the Mutiny. Many of the papers are concerned with the Bombay Marine and the Indian Navy, and with arrangements for the transport of troops.

A collection of eighteenth-century manuscript maps and plans (469) of places in India and elsewhere in the East is worthy of notice.

The Heraldic MSS. in the Library include several fine armorials with numerous coats of arms beautifully emblazoned. Some of these manuscripts are the work of leading officers of the Heralds' College from the sixteenth century onwards. The finest examples formed part of the Crawford collection.

A large number of papers and notes by Dr. Shaw very considerably

<sup>1</sup> Sydney C. Grier, *The letters of Warren Hastings to his wife* (London, 1905), pp. 204-205.

<sup>2</sup> See *D.N.B.*

supplement his work "The Knights of England," original MSS. of which are also in the Library.

A number of manuscripts, chiefly concerned with Lancashire, Cheshire, and Lincolnshire, are of interest to those attracted by local history. Incidentally it may be worth while to mention here that there is a large collection of early charters and other original documents in the Library, many of which relate to families and lands of the above-named counties. The materials relating to Lincolnshire include many notes and transcripts of early registers, rolls, rentals, charters, wills, and other documents, made by the late Mr. Edward Peacock.

The remaining manuscripts in the collection include treatises on subjects so diverse in character as legal history, travel, medicine, mathematics, shorthand, astronomy, astrology and magic.

In the following list the number [R . . .] is the Library accession number. Notes and names given in *italics* follow exactly the spelling used in the manuscript.

1. (Crawford 1.) JOHN LYDGATE. *The Sege of Troye.*

Vell. ff. 174, double columns. 451 × 326 mm. Early xvth cent. England. Modern binding in purple velvet.

\* \* f. 1. *Here begynneth the boke of the sege of Troye compiled by Daun John Lydgate, monke of Bery, atte excitacioun and steryng of the moost noble, worthi and myghty Prynce Kyng Henry the fyfthe, first rehersyng the conquest of the golden flees acheved by the manly prowesse of Jason. Under the correccioun of every prudent reder.* A richly decorated MS., with floriated borders, a half-page miniature at the beginning of each of the five books, and 64 other paintings. On f. 1 is a painting of Lydgate presenting his work to Henry V. f. 173. The coat of arms of a member of the Carent family. f. 174. *Hugh Morgan of Monmouth in the marches of Walys* (xvith cent. hand); *Francis Mundy of Markeyton, Esq., September 18th, 1615; Adryan Mundy.*

2. (Crawford 2.) JOHN LYDGATE. *The Falle of Pryncys.*

Vell. ff. 185, double columns. 417 × 292 mm. Early xvth cent. England.

\* \* f. 1. *Here begynneth the book callyd J. Bochas descriuing the falle of Pryncys, Pryncessys, and othir nobles, translated in to Inglissh bi John Ludgate, monke of the monastery of Seynt Edmundes Bury, atte commaundement of the worthi prynce Humfryduk of Gloucestre, begynning at Adam and endyng with Kyng John take prisonere in ffraunce bi Prynce Edward.* f. 184b. *Greneacres a lenvoye upon John Bochas.* f. 185. A catalogue of the books of an early xviiith century owner of the MS. Former owner: Victor Albert George Child Villiers, Earl of Jersey.

## 3. (Crawford 3.) WICLIF. The Gospels (later version).

Vell. ff. 206, double columns. 173 × 120 mm. Early xvth cent. England.

\* \* Contains the gospels of Luke, John, Matthew and Mark, in the order given, with the usual prologues. An elaborate silver ornamented binding and an added title-page stating that the MS. was *presented to Queene Elizabeth by ffrauncis Newport, Mdlx + Restored by James Dix, Bristol, Mdccclx*. On ff. 1-6 is transcribed an address to the Queen from Francis Newport.

## 4. (Crawford 11.) SCOTTISH ARMORIAL.

Paper. ff. 48. 320 × 180 mm. xvth cent.

\* \* Partly destroyed by fire. Contains a number of painted coats of arms. A note under the arms of James V. of Scotland refers to his daughter Mary "*that now liveth*."

## 5. (Crawford 12.) JOHN PHILIPOTT, SOMERSET HERALD. English Armorial.

Vell. ff. 35. 360 × 220 mm. 1635.

\* \* 66 coats emblazoned. Dedicated to the Prince Elector Charles Lodowick, Duke of Bavaria, etc.

## 6. (Crawford 13.) ROBERT GLOVER, SOMERSET HERALD. Armorial.

Vell. ff. 70. 150 × 200 mm. 1582.

\* \* 67 coats emblazoned. Dedicated to Frederick II. of Denmark. Former owners: Ulrich D. Obrecht, Professor of Law, Strasburg († 1702); Johann Michael von Loen, Frankfurt († 1776); Friedrich Eberhard Freiherr von Mering, Cologne († 1861).

## 7. (Crawford 18.) FORM OF CURY.

Vell. ff. 91. 142 × 100 mm. Early xvth cent. Old vellum binding.

\* \* f. 4. *Copia domini Regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum Anglie. Thys fourme of Cury ys compyled of þe chef mayster coke of kyng Richarde þe seconde after þe conquest of Englonð by assent of maysters of physyk and of Phylosophye. f. 1. Dominus Johannes Tilsh (xviiith cent.)*

## 8. [R. 59100.] (Phillipps 8966.) PRECEDENCY.

Paper. ff. 331. 330 × 205 mm. xvth-xviiith cent.

\* \* Questions sent to the Heralds and Kings of Arms, with answers. Probably collected by Sir George Nayler, Garter King of Arms († 1831). Former owner: Sir Arthur Vicars, Ulster Pursuivant.

## 9. (Crawford 20.) ARMORIALS.

Paper. ff. 419. 425 × 275 mm. xviiith cent.

\* \* Three heraldic MSS. bound together (a) ff. 3-90. Emblazoned coats of arms of English kings and nobles from Brutus to James I. (b) ff. 97-293. Armorial of English nobility, alphabetically arranged, with



coats emblazoned up to the letter O. (c) ff. 296-318. Knights of the Garter from Edward III. to the accession of Elizabeth (coats not emblazoned). ff. 361-373. Scottish kings, etc. (unfinished). Former owner: *Sir Reginald Graham*, 1866.

10. (Crawford 21.) JOHN TILSTON. *The Harringtons of Exton.*

Paper. ff. 45. 410 × 251 mm. 1685.

\* \* *The descendents of Sr James Harington of Exton in the Countie of Rutland, Knight, and of his Lady, Lucy, daughter of Sr William Sydney of Penshurst in the Countye of Kent, Knight, from whom are descended and near allied to their descendents 20 dukes . . . from the 34 yeare of Queene Eliz[abeth] Raigne to this present yeare An<sup>o</sup> 1685. Collected and compossed by John Tilston, Esq<sup>re</sup>, student in antiquities and painted by Francis Hougham, Herald-painter in ye old Baily, London.*

11. (Crawford 22.) PEERAGE OF SCOTLAND.

Paper. ff. 314. 232 × 187 mm xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* Extracts from parliament rolls, etc., with indices and tables, made by the Hon. Henry Maule, titular Earl of Panmure († 1734). The MS. was presented to Mr. J. A. Veitch by *Mrs. Clarke, daughter and executrix of Mr. Baron Maule.*

12. (Crawford 23.) ARMORIAL.

Paper. ff. 26. 368 × 320 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* Emblazoned coats of arms of English knights in the time of Edward II., arranged by counties. Imperfect. Index added.

13. (Crawford 24.) ARMORIAL.

Paper. ff. 145. 329 × 216 mm. Early xvii<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* Emblazoned coats of arms of English kings and peers from William I. to James I. (inclusive).

14. (Crawford 25.) ARMORIAL.

Paper. ff. 79. 320 × 205 mm. Late xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* Emblazoned coats of arms of English, Scottish, and Irish peers and bishops. Index added.

15. (Crawford 26.) HISTORICAL MISCELLANY.

Paper. ff. 143. 308 × 200 mm. xvth-xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* Fragments of MSS. bound together. Many passages and notes of heraldic interest, including a Scottish armorial; an Irish armorial; a transcript of *a very ancye[n]t booke of Armes in Golde contayning the coats of English and Irish race; Knightes of the Carpet made at the saide mariage of Prince Arthur; lists of knights made on various historic occasions; a small treatise on heraldry, etc.*

16. (Crawford 28.) HISTORICAL MISCELLANY.

\* \* 28 documents relating to English history (1646-1659), containing the autographs of many of the judges of Charles I. and other well-known Commonwealth figures.

17. (Crawford 29.) E. SKORY. Descriptions of the Canary Islands and of the Azores.

Paper. ff. 74 + 2 + 1. 175 × 130 mm. *circ.* 1610.

\* \* f. 1. *A description of all the Ilands of the Canaries. . . . Besides the history of their first inhabitants called the Guanches, their religion, Lawes, warres, and other memorable observations.*

f. 43. *A description of the Ilands of the Açores, etc. Dedicated to the truly honorable knight S<sup>r</sup> Francis Bacon, the knower and lover of all good arts. Former owner: William Browning.*

18. (Crawford 49.) MALORY. Morte Arthure.

Paper. ff. 136. 315 × 193 mm. 1832.

\* \* Transcript of Lincoln Cathedral Library MS. No. 91 (4), made by Sir F. Madden.

19. (Crawford 71.) HENRY BAKER. Correspondence.

Paper. 8 volumes. ff. 365, 308, 394, 332, 354, 381, 402, 351. 257 × 197 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* *Literary and Philosophic Correspondence of Henry Baker, esq., F.R.S. and A.S., author of the "Microscope made easy," with many of the most scientific observers of his day. I., 1722-1744; II., 1745-1746; III., 1747-1748; IV., 1749-1750; V., 1751-1753; VI., 1754-1757; VII., 1758-1762; VIII., 1763-1770, together with an index. Former owners: William Baker, Dr. Fotherley Baker.*

20. (Crawford 80, 81.) SIR F. MADDEN. Collection for the Arms of Bishops.

Paper. 2 volumes. ff. 270 each. 310 × 200 mm. xix<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* Together with the above are three note-books relating to the collection, one of which gives a list of the Chartularies, Registers, Leiger Books, Rentals, etc., of the Religious Houses in England (1830).

21. (Crawford 85.) DE GOURNAY CHARTERS.

\* \* 11 photographs of original charters in the *Archives du département de la Seine-Inférieure* at Rouen, with notes.

22. (Crawford 86.) NUMISMATICS.

Paper. ff. 232. 308 × 182 mm. xix<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* Catalogue (with full descriptions and prices) of Greek and other early coins collected by John Lindsay, barrister-at-law.

23. (Crawford 92.) RICHARD TATE. *Mathematical and Astronomical Notes.*  
 Paper. ff. 314. 228 × 184 mm. *xix*th cent.  
 \* \* *Written by Richard Tate, whitesmith, of Downpatrick, Ireland, who died about 1853.*
24. (Crawford 93.) HISTORY OF THE PHOOLKIAN FAMILY.  
 Paper. ff. 82. 223 × 166 mm. post 1878.
25. (Crawford 94.) ARMORIAL.  
 Paper. ff. 373. 200 × 160 mm. *xviii*th cent.  
 \* \* *An ordinary of arms, probably by Richard Mawson, Portcullis pursuivant, 1718-1745. Index added. Astronomical tables of eclipses transcribed on several pages. Former owners: John Warburton, Somerset Herald († 1759); Thomas Willement († 1871).*
26. (Crawford 95.) ARMORIAL.  
 Paper. ff. 30. 205 × 150 mm. *xviii*th cent.  
 \* \* *197 emblazoned coats of arms of Welsh kings and nobility, with notes.*
27. (Crawford 96.) ARMORIAL.  
 Paper. ff. 53. 184 × 233 mm. *xix*th cent.  
 \* \* *Arms of the barons who signed the letter to the Pope, 29 Edward I.*
28. (Crawford 97.) SIR F. MADDEN. *Greek Manuscripts.*  
 Paper. ff. 182. 178 × 117 mm.  
 \* \* *Notices of Greek manuscripts and others preserved in the monasteries in the Levant and the East, collected from various authorities by F. M. 1847.*
29. (Crawford 99.) THE COCKBURNS OF ORMISTON.  
 Paper. ff. 50. 163 × 102 mm. *xviii*th-*xviii*th cent.  
 \* \* *An account compiled from Public Records, etc. Dedicated to the Right Honourable Adam Cockburne of Ormistoun, Lord Justice Clerk and one of the senators of the Colledge of Justice.*
30. (Crawford 105.) SYMBOLS AND SACRED EMBLEMS.  
 Paper. ff. 92. 516 × 356 mm. *xix*th cent.  
 \* \* *Collection, with notes, of drawings, taken partly from originals, partly from books by Thomas Willement.*
31. (Crawford 114.) NORTHAMPTON TABLES.  
 Paper. ff. 62. 315 × 202 mm. *xix*th cent.  
 \* \* *Tables to calculate amounts of annuities.*

32. (Crawford 115.) ARMORIAL.

Paper. ff. 182. 315 × 194 mm. <sup>xix</sup>th cent.

\* \* Cuttings and drawings of emblazoned coats of arms, in two volumes bound together. A note by Lord Crawford dated April, 1864, says the MS. was sent to him *as a remembrance of Mr. Reddell after his death.*

33. (Crawford 118.) SIR F. MADDEN. Notes on manuscripts preserved at Holkham Hall.

2 bundles of papers in boxes. <sup>xix</sup>th<sup>1</sup> cent.

34. (Crawford 121.) MAGIC.

Paper. ff. 4. 325 × 205 mm. <sup>xix</sup>th cent.

\* \* Prefatory note signed *Francis Barrett.*

35. (Crawford 127.) W. H. BLACK. *De origine Siphrrarum.*

\* \* A bundle of papers being an unfinished work. *De Origine Siphrrarum seu Characterum Numeralium Indicorum quos arabicos dicit vulgus Dissertatiuncula auctore Guillelmo Henrico Nigro. 1839.*

36. (Crawford 128.) EPICYCLOIDAL CUTTING FRAME.

Paper. ff. 11. 204 × 130 mm. <sup>xix</sup>th cent.

\* \* *Epicycloidal Cutting Frame for producing compound Figures with Internal or External Loops or Cusps.*

37. (Crawford 134.) DIVINATION. Clair-voyantes who have read in nutshells.

Paper. ff. 27. 180 × 112 mm. <sup>xix</sup>th cent.

\* \* Stamped *The Laboratory, Soho, 48 Greek St.*

38. (Crawford 137.) CHRONICLES OF SCOTLAND.

Paper. ff. 308. 376 × 231 mm. <sup>xix</sup>th cent.

\* \* *Heir beginneth the ancient buik of the Cronickles of Scotland, Quhilk wes left on writtin be the last Translatours, To wit Maister Hector Boyes and Maister Johnn Bannadyne Quho left their Cronickles and endit at King James the first. So This Book begineth at king James the secund: And ordourlie proceids of all Kings, Queinis, Governoures and Regents to this hour Quhilk is 1575. A transcript.*

39. (Crawford 146.) AUTOGRAPHS. Subscriber's signatures to a proposal for printing Brydson's "Order of the Peerage."

Paper. ff. 4. June-July, 1787.

\* \* 151 autographs, including those of David Dalrymple, William Robertson, Adam Smith, Robert Burns, and many members of the Scottish nobility, scholars and professional men.

40. (Crawford 158.) E. SIBLEY. *The Clavis or Key to unlock the mysteries of Magick of Rabby Salomon.*

Paper. ff. 152. 226 × 180 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* *Translated from the Hebrew into French and from French rendered into English with additions by Ebenezer Sibley, M.D., . . . and enriched with Figures, Talismans, Pentacles, Circles, Characters, etc.* London, No. 18 Bartlett's Buildings, Holburn, 7th August, 1789.

41. (Crawford 160.) HOUSE OF LORDS. (f. 1) A roll of the nobility of England, 1696, as it was then delivered into the House of Lords by King at Arms. (f. 6) Remembrances for Order and Decency to be kept in the upper House of Parliament by the Lords, etc.

Paper. ff. 47. 155 × 98 mm. Circ. 1700.

\* \* Former owner: T. Morell.

42. (Crawford 161.) W. PEARSE. *The Languishing Saint's Request.*

Paper. ff. 48. 164 × 106 mm. 1665.

\* \* A treatise on Psalm xxxix. 13.

43. (Crawford 168.) HISTORICAL MISCELLANY.

Paper. ff. 165. Various sizes. xviii<sup>th</sup>-xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* Contents include *Passages of the late generall assemblie holden at Edinburgh, 12 August, 1639*; Scottish parliamentary minutes; papers relating to the taxation of the county of Northampton, 1673-1674; copies of correspondence, etc., relating to the United Provinces, Sweden, Brandenburg, etc.; papers relating to the trial of Dr. Sacheverell; Latin verse by Dr. Derham, John Gaynam; etc.

44. (Crawford 179.) W. H. IBBETT. *The Master Key to Ancient Mystery to unlock the Secret Caverns of the Magi and Restore to Light the whole Art of the Occult Science of Talismanic Sculpture.*

Paper. ff. 157. 315 × 199 mm. 1854-1857.

\* \* A transcript. 2 volumes bound together.

45. (Crawford 196.) GENEALOGICAL MISCELLANY.

Paper. ff. 71. Various sizes. xix<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* Notes in various hands concerning Chichester of Hall, Dennistoun of Dennistoun, Jones of Ireland, Ludlow, Earl of Ludlow, Christy of Apuldfefeld. A list of seats belonging to Roman Catholic gentlemen. Former owner: Lord Farnham, K.P. Former owners of list: *Capt. Edward Jones, 1st N. Lancs. Militia*; Michael Jones; Thomas Moule; Mr. Montague (1841).



46. (Crawford 197.) **QUADRI.** On Thorough Base.  
 Paper. ff. 145. 224 × 175 mm. xixth cent.  
 \* \* *Translated from Italian by Lord Gifford.*
47. (Spencer 544.) **JOHN LEWIS, A.M.** Remarks on Collier's Ecclesiastical History.  
 Paper. ff. 470. 303 × 178 mm. xviith cent.
48. (Spencer 869.) **GENERAL H. S. CONWAY.** Index to General Conway's collection of pamphlets.  
 2 volumes. Paper. ff. 78, 111. 204 × 158 mm.  
 \* \* The collection is preserved in the Library.
49. (Spencer 4430.) [**JOHN LEWIS.**] Theological Discourses.  
 Paper. ff. 106. 194 × 150 mm. xviiith cent.  
 \* \* f. 1. *An impartial representation of the State of Religion in England with respect to Infidelity, Heresy, Profaness and Immorality, Dec., 1712.* f. 37. *The principles and practices of certain moderate Divines of the Church of England formerly called by their enemies Latitudinarians, etc. Part IV.*
50. [R. 45388.] [**RICHARD ROLLE OF HAMPOLE?**] The Pricke of Conscience. **GUY OF WARWICK.** *Speculum.*  
 Vell. ff. 112 + 6 + 5. 250 × 149 mm. Late xixth cent.  
 \* \* The MS. contains only the first 659 lines of the *Speculum*. Former owners: *P. le Neve*, Norroy [King of Arms]; *Andrew Clarke(?)*; *Thomas Held(?)*; *Thomas Martin*; *R. Farmer*, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge († 1798).
51. [R. 45387.] [**RICHARD ROLLE OF HAMPOLE?**] The Prick of Conscience. [**RICHARD OF MAIDSTONE?**] *Commentum super 7 psalmos penitentiales, in anglicis v[ersibus].*  
 Vell. ff. 135 + 3 + 3. 180 × 115 mm. xvth cent.  
 \* \* The commentary (usually attributed to Richard of Maidstone) ends *Graunt oon god and persones pre.* 1223. Originally bound with other works now missing. Former owners: *Thomas Day of Grys'* (xviiith cent.); *John Hardy*, May 12, 1708; *Maurice Johnson, Esq.*, Ayscough-Fee Hall, Co. Lincoln (1710).
52. (Spencer 8692.) **JAMES WESTON.** Stenography or Shorthand is an art, etc.  
 Paper. ff. 44. 235 × 179 mm. 1724.
53. (Spencer 9245.) **EXPLORATION.** A Voyage for Whaling and Discovery round C. Horn into the Pacific Oceans under protection of the Right Honorable Lords Commissioners of the

Admiralty, performed in the merchant ship "Rattler" by Lieutenant James Colnett in the years 1793 and 1794.

Paper. ff. 275. 294 × 213 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* Contains 37 water colours and 12 maps. The dedication to Lord Spencer is signed *James Colnett, No. 17, Clements Inn, London.*

54. [R. 38823.] TREATISES ON MANORIAL LAW. (f. 1) What a manour is. (f. 5) Courte Baron. (f. 21) The forme and manner to kepe any hundred leete courte baron with all proscres, chardges and entries belonging to the same. (f. 61) Lectura magistri Nicholai Titchborne in interiori Templo, anno Regis Henrici Octavi primo (in French). (f. 90) Prima Lectura Caroli Calthrope, lectoris ibidem termino Trinitatis anno Elizabethae 16 de tenuris dictis Coppyholdes. (f. 133) Modus tenendi Curiae Baronis. (f. 178) Coppiholdes (in French).

Paper. ff. 247 + 5 + 2. 230 × 174 mm. Late xv<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* 8 lectures by Titchborne and 27 lectures by Calthrop († 1616).

55. (Spencer 19140.) RECORDS. Materials for History, being a transcript of the originall commissions, instructions, orders, letters, messages, military, ecclesiasticall, civill, in the years 1658, 1659, 1660, 1661, directed to Lord Viscount Mordaunt and to other commissioners whose names are inserted in the plenepotentiary.

Vell. ff. 245 + 2 + 2. 365 × 245 mm. *Ante* 1669

\* \* Inserted are an index made by Georgiana, Countess Spencer, in 1796; a portrait of Viscount Mordaunt; a letter to General Mordaunt from Sir William Musgrave, dated 25 Mar. '97; a fictitious letter to Harcourt from Voiture, written in the Elysian fields; a letter signed J. H.

56. (Spencer 22461.) PELLEGRINO ANTONIO ORLANDI. Abecedario Pittorico or The Virtuoso's Companion.

Paper. 2 volumes interleaved. ff. 281, 242. 325 × 205 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* Translated from the Italian by W. Hatchett, with a dedication to the Hon. Mr. Spencer.

57. (Spencer 22571.) [DAVID GARRICK.] Lethe, or Aesop in the Shades. A play in two acts.

Paper. ff. 51 + 2 + 2. 226 × 181 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.

58. (Spencer 22763.) ORDER OF KNIGHTHOOD. The Statutis and ordinancis of the most noble order of Saynt George named the Gartyr, Refourmed, explayned, declared and renewed by the most highe, most excellent and most puyssant prince Henry the VIIIth, etc.

Vell. ff. 27 + 1 + 1. 205 × 163 mm. xvith cent. Early binding.

\* \* Former owners: *Guillelmus Rollo e societate Salvatoriana*, 1706; *Gulielmus Trone*.

59. (Spencer 23011.) SIR MATTHEW HALE. History of the pleas of the Crown.

Paper. ff. 694 + 4 + 8. 307 × 200 mm. xviith cent.

\* \* Original MS., with corrections (edited S. Emlyn, London, 1736). Former owners: Henry Brown of Liverpool; Mr. Justice Chambre; Lord Ellenborough.

60. (Spencer 23019.) ART. A Collection of engravings of portraits of painters.

Paper. 2 volumes. ff. 83, 142. 370 × 267 mm. xviiith cent.

\* \* Vol. I. has 76 portraits, 5 with notes; Vol. II. has 54 portraits, 6 with notes, also notes on 12 other painters.

61. [R. 55994.] EXCHEQUER WARRANTS (1669-1670).

Paper. ff. 154. 186 × 148 mm. xviith cent.

\* \* Transcripts of warrants.

62. (Spencer 575.) CATALOGUS BIBLIOTHECAE ALPHABETICUS.

Paper. 3 volumes. ff. 936. 426 × 270 mm. xviiith cent.

\* \* Catalogue of the library formed at Sunderland House, London, by Charles Spencer (afterwards 3rd Earl of Sunderland), 1685-1722. The supplementary catalogue by Robert Spencer (4th Earl of Sunderland) is not in the Library.

63. (Spencer 23125.) CHAUCER. Canterbury Tales.

Vell. ff. 2. 272 × 195 mm. xvth cent.

\* \* Fragment containing part of the prologue to the Miller's tale (Dr. Skeat's edition, ll. 3158-3207) and part of the tale (ll. 3511-3588); also a fine tinted drawing of the Miller.

64. (Spencer 22479.) LIBRARY CATALOGUE. Catalogue of the early printed books in the Library of Lord Spencer, arranged under printers.

Paper. ff. 51. 325 × 191 mm. xixth cent.

65. (Spencer 22480.) LIBRARY CATALOGUE. *Class Catalogue of the Books at Althorp, 1792.*  
Paper. 4 vols., ff. 188 each. 320 × 200 mm.
66. (Spencer 22481.) LIBRARY CATALOGUE. *Catalogus librorum ante 1500 Ducis Marlbor'.*  
Paper. ff. 179. 330<sup>1</sup> × 200 mm. xixth cent.
67. (Spencer 22482.) LIBRARY CATALOGUE. *Catalogue of the Library of the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Spencer at Althorp, 1761.*  
Paper. ff. 95. 372 × 248 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.
68. (Spencer 22738.) THOMAS FROGNALL DIBDIN. *Bibliotheca Spenceriana.*  
Paper. 4 volumes, ff. 441, 570, 490, 610. 335 × 210 mm. xixth cent.
69. (Spencer 22887.) LIBRARY CATALOGUE. *Catalogue of the Aldine Editions in the Library of Lord Spencer at Althorp.*  
Paper. ff. 50. 184 × 108<sup>1</sup> mm. xixth cent.
70. (Spencer 22938.) PSALTER. *Collation of three copies of the Latin Psalter printed at Mentz in 1457.*  
Paper. ff. 24. 322 × 199 mm. xixth cent.  
\* \* Collation of the British Museum, Windsor Castle and Althorp (now John Rylands) MSS. by Russell Martineau, M.A., Assistant-Keeper of Printed Books, British Museum, 1888.
71. (Spencer 23013.) LETTERS. *Literary Correspondence of John George, Earl Spencer, K.G., to the Rev. Thos. Frognall Dibdin, D.D.*  
\* \* Collection (in one volume) of 172 letters (1802-1816) and two other letters (1827, 1832).
72. (Spencer 23124.) LIBRARY CATALOGUE. *Catalogus cod. saec. xv. impress. qui in Bibliotheca Spenceriana adservantur. 1812.*  
Paper. ff. 90. 176 × 107 mm. xixth cent.
73. [R. 5165.] T. F. DIBDIN. *Bibliographical and typographical collections.*  
Paper. 6 volumes, ff. 106, 121, 129, 101, 163, 174. Various sizes. xixth cent.  
\* \* Former owner: W. B. D. D. Turnbull.

74. (Spencer 22427.) LIBRARY CATALOGUE. Catalogue of some books, which are in the Althorp Library, which were printed in the Fifteenth century, but are not described in Dibdin's *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*.

Paper. ff. 14. 229 × 189 mm. xixth cent.

\* \* Former owner: John Poyntz Spencer, Earl Spencer.

75. [R. 4989.] (Ashburnham, App. xxiii.) WICLIF. New Testament (later version).

Vell. ff. 195. 161 × 101 mm. xvth cent.

\* \* From the end of the Prologue to Romans to *Apocalypse* xv. 3. See J. Forshall and F. Madden, *The Holy Bible . . . made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his followers. Vol. I* (Oxford, 1850), MS. No. 167. Many names in margins. Former owner: Rev. C. Fletcher of Southwell, Notts.

76. [R. 4990.] (Ashburnham, App. xxiv.) WICLIF. New Testament (later version).

Vell. ff. 185. 207 × 144 mm. xvth cent.

\* \* Ends *I James* ii. 16. Also a table of Lessons, Epistles and Gospels (according to the use of Salisbury). Names in margins: *John Hedgman*; *John Dawty* (xvith cent.)

77. [R. 4991.] (Ashburnham, App. xx.) WICLIF. New Testament (later version).

Vell. ff. 268 + 2 + 1. 190 × 131 mm. xvth cent.

\* \* See Forshall and Madden, No. 158. Former owner: Mr. Lea Wilson.

78. [R. 4992.] (Ashburnham, App. xxi.) WICLIF. New Testament (later version).

Vell. ff. 173. 160 × 108 mm. xvth cent.

\* \* Ends *II Corinthians* vii. 2. See Forshall and Madden, No. 160.

79. [R. 4993.] (Ashburnham, App. xxii.) WICLIF. New Testament (later version).

Vell. ff. 241. 165 × 115 mm. xvth cent.

\* \* See Forshall and Madden, No. 159. Former owner: Mr. Lea Wilson.

80. [R. 4994.] (Ashburnham, App. xviii.) WICLIF. New Testament (later version?).

Vell. ff. 316. 215 × 147 mm. xvth cent.

\* \* See Forshall and Madden, No. 157. ff. 2-7. Calendar in English, table for Easter from 1448-1520, and other tables. f. 271. *Here endip þe Apocalipis. Anno dni mccc° (?) xliiii°.* Then follows another prologue to Romans and the epistles for certain days.



81. [R. 4995.] (Ashburnham, App. xix.) WICLIF. New Testament (earlier version).

Vell. ff. 153. 270 × 192 mm. Late xivth cent.

\* \* Printed Pickering, 1848. See Forshall and Madden, No. 156. Former owners: (f. 153b) *Dame Anne Danvers, widowe, sumtyme wyffe to Sr William Danvers, knyght, hoose soule God assoyle hathe geuyn this present Booke unto mastre confessor and his Bretherne endloosed in Syon, etc.*; (f. 1) *Ed. Reynolds ex dono D. Guillelmi Simonson. Coll. Merton socii. Fowler; Mr. Lea Wilson.*

82. [R. 4996.] (Ashburnham, App. xxvii.) WICLIF. Old Testament (later version).

Vell. ff. 242. 257 × 175 mm. xvth cent.

\* \* Imperfect, many leaves missing. *I Kings xxviii. 5 to Ecclesiastes i. 12.*

83. [R. 4997.] (Ashburnham, App. xxvii A.) WICLIF. Parablis of Solomon (later version).

Vell. ff. 157 + 1 + 3. 98 × 66 mm. xvth cent.

\* \* Also contains extracts from Ecclesiastes and quotations from various books of the Old and New Testaments.

84. [R. 4998.] (Ashburnham, App. xxv.) WICLIF. The Deeds of the Apostles (later version).

Vell. ff. 126. 122 × 85 mm. Late xivth cent.

\* \* See Forshall and Madden, No. 161. From *vii. 31* to *x. 6* in the earlier version. Former owners: Mr. Lea Wilson; (f. 1) *Tho. Miles. The gift of Mr. Dyer (xviii cent. hand).*

85. [R. 4999.] (Ashburnham, App. xxvii.) DIVERS TREATISES. (f. 2)

*pe abite and next pater noster, ave marie and crede, and next pe heestis and oper pingis shortli touchid to helpe of every persooone pat penkip to be saved. (f. 19b) pe twelve lettyngis of preier. (f. 24b) of diuerse bileeves. (f. 25b) of diverse degrees of love. (f. 37) Declaracioun of pe pater noster. (f. 54b) pe mirrour of synners. (f. 64) pe chartir of hevene. (f. 72b) pe pre arowis.*

Vell. ff. 81 + 5 + 4. 142 × 95 mm. Early xvth cent.

\* \* Attributed to Wiclif but of doubtful authorship. Certain parts are taken from the work called *The Poore Caitiff*. Former owners and names in margins: *John Dee; William Wester(t)on; Willym Vycary; Thomas Wylkes (xvth cent.); Thomas Page(t); Margett Kyghtley (xviii cent.).*

86. [R. 5000.] (Ashburnham, App. xxvii C.) WICLIF. Theological Treatises (English and Latin): (f. 1) *De officio pastoralis (E.).*

(f. 21b) De ordine christiano (L.). (f. 25) De Papa (E.). (f. 35) De confessione et penitentia (E.). (f. 43) De contrarietate duorum dominorum suarum partium ac etiam regularum (L.). (f. 49) Contra relationes privatas or Purgatorium secte Christi (L.). (f. 54b) Dictum de gradibus clari ecclesie militantis (*i.e.*, ch. 3. De gradibus cleri ecclesie) (L.). (f. 55) Expositio textus Mathei 24<sup>to</sup> (L.). (f. 64) De citationibus frivolis et aliis versuciis Antichristi (L.). (f. 69) [Expositio textus Mathei xxiii sive de vae octuplici] (L.). (f. 82b) De servitute civili et dominio seculari (L.). (f. 89b) De citationibus etc. (imperfect). (f. 90) De nova prevaricantia mandatorum (L.). (f. 97) Speculum ecclesie militantis (L.). (f. 117) Part of a treatise (L.). (f. 118) Ch. 29, 30, 31 of a treatise (L.).

Vell. ff. 121 + 3 + 4. 158 × 108 mm. Early xvth cent.

87. [R. 5001.] (Ashburnham, App. xxviii.) THE POORE CAITIFF.

Vell. ff. 120 + 4 + 4. 150 × 102 mm. xvth cent.

\* \* Popular collection of treatises wrongly attributed to Wiclif. Names in margins, etc.: *Richard Dumbalrd*; *George Lowson*; *Thomas Dod* (1555); *George Sapcote*; *George Ratlyfe*; *Myles Garard*; *Thomas Martin*.

88. [R. 14777.] WICLIF. Psalms (later version).

Vell. ff. 74 + 6 + 2. 169 × 113 mm. Early xvth cent.

\* \* At Leigh and Sotheby's, June 2nd, 1815. *R.W.*

89. [R. 16265.] WICLIF. Old Testament.

Vell. ff. 90 + 1 + 1. 140 × 100 mm. *Circ.* 1400.

\* \* Contains Daniel (later version); a glose of Daniel; from Ezekiel to I Maccabees ix. 39, much abridged, following earlier version. Former owner: Laurence W. Hodson, Compton Hall, nr. Wolverhampton.

90. [R. 16586.] [RICHARD ROLLE OF HAMPOLE?] The Prycke of Conscience. WICLIF. On the Pater Noster.

Vell. ff. 66 + 4 + 3. 345 × 248 mm. Late xvth cent.

\* \* The former work in 8 books with additions in Latin prose and English verse. ff. 1 and 66, accounts (badly defaced) relating to payments to a certain Stanlou by parishes of the diocese of Vannes (Brittany). This is the well-known "Corser MS." Other former owners: *Sir Philip Mainwaring* (1589-1661); Lord Ashburnham.

91. [R. 55397.] WICLIF. Holy Bible (later version).

Vell. ff. 272. 385 × 262 mm. xvth cent. Ornamented red velvet binding.

\* \* From the Parablis of Solomon onwards. A table of lessons, epistles and Gospels for the year according to the use of Salisbury.

Illuminated letters and borders. Names in margin : *Gilbert Humblye, M hylls ; Jhon Lane*. Former owners : *John Symonds Breedon, Bere Court, Berks, 1789 ; Charles Lilburn*.

92. [R. 4988.] (Ashburnham, App. xxvi.) APOCALYPSE (with an interpretation).

Vell. ff. 46 + 2 + 3. 210 × 137 mm. Late xivth or early xvth cent.

\* \* No prologues. Chapters broken up by insertion of commentaries. Certain similarities to earlier Wiclif version, but many differences. The arms of *Edwardus Dering, Miles et Baronettus* stamped on covers.

93. [R. 3465.] JOHANNA SOUTHCOTT. Chronological index to printed works.

Vell. ff. 68 + 2 + 2. 212 × 148 mm. xivth cent.

\* \* Index to 10 volumes published 1801 to 1814.

94. [R. 4595.] MISCELLANEA. (f. 1) Bonaventura's Life of Christ (translated by Nicholas Love). (f. 125) The Boke of the Craft of Dyinge. (f. 137b) A trectyse of gostely bataile right devoute. (f. 152) A lytil shorte trectyce that telleth howe there were vi mastirs assembled togedir, etc. (f. 152b) Nota de paciencia infirmitatis (Latin). (f. 153) The xii prophetis of tribulacioun.

Vell. ff. 168 + 1 + 1. 365 × 236 mm. Early xvth cent.

\* \* Former owner : *Gulielmus Northampton* (xviii cent.).

95. [R. 4596.] REGINALD HEBER, Bp. of Calcutta. From Greenland's icy mountains.

Paper. f. 1. 1819.

\* \* Original MS. bound up with a *facsimile*, various notes and an engraving of Bp. Heber.

96. [R. 4600.] MISCELLANEA. (f. 2.) James Renwick. Letters (Transcribed). (f. 132) Rev. Alexander Shields. The Life and Death of . . . Mr. James Renwick. (f. 242) Queries put to Mr. James Muir at his admission to the Kirk Rethan . . . about the year, 1650.

Paper. ff. 241 + 4 + 4. 197 × 150 mm. xviii cent.

\* \* Two printed pamphlets have been inserted ; (i) *Antipas, or the Dying Testimony of Mr. James Renwick*, dated Feb. 15th, 1688, (ii) *An elegy upon the death of . . . Mr. James Renwick* by Alexander Shields, printed 1688, reprinted 1723. Former owner : *H. J. Hownt, 1850*.

97. [R. 4716.] LANCASHIRE. Accounts of the Manchester Church-wardens, 1664-1711.

Paper. ff. 249 + 2 + 2. 352 × 225 mm. xviii-xviii cent.

\* \* A note signed *Jas. Crossley*, Dec. 1862 says the MS. appears to have been disposed of along with the remains of *H. Chetham's Library* in the Cathedral to a dealer in *Shude Hill*.

98. [R. 12144.] BONAVENTURA. *Speculum vite Christi* (translated by *Nicholas Love*).

Vell. ff. 140 + 2 + 1. 304 × 204 mm. Early xvth cent.

\* \* ff. 137b, 138. A record of the births of the children (a) of *Thos. Roberts*, *Willlesden*, *Middlesex* († Jan 1st, 1542), (b) of *Alan Horde*, *Ewell*, *Surrey* († Aug. 16th, 1553), and (c) of *Edmund Horde*. Former owners: *Thomas William Evans*; *Robert Knyvett* (xviii cent.).

99. [R. 12584.] CHESHIRE PEDIGREES.

Paper. 56 + 8. 350 × 235 mm. 1580-1583.

\* \* Extracts from *Domesday Book*, genealogical notes, extracts from armorials, *Glover's Visitation of Cheshire*, etc. Former owner: *John Holland*, No. 43.

100. [R. 14552.] A. DARBYSHIRE. Heraldry of Henry V and Richard III.

Paper. 2 note books (i) ff. 76. 221 × 182 mm., (ii) ff. 23. 200 × 162 mm. xixth cent.

\* \* Notes for the production at *Prince's Theatre*, *Manchester*, by *Mr. Charles Calvert* in September, 1872, of *Shakespeare's "Henry the Fifth"* and "*Richard III.*"

101. [R. 15383.] (Phillipps, 8993.) RECORDS. Orders in the Treasurer's Office.

Paper. ff. 46. 307 × 203 mm. xvth cent.

\* \* Contains (a) advices to clerks with quotations of cases of the year 1556, (b) Tables of rates for money, wheat, etc. f. 45. *The rates before mentioned were wrytten at the Citie of London in the moneth of October the IIII<sup>th</sup> and V<sup>th</sup> yeris of Kinge Philip and Quene Marie a<sup>o</sup> dni 1557 by James Redmer.*

102. [R. 15384.] THE BRUTE OR THE CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND (with continuation to 1377).

Vell. ff. 101 + 2 + 2. 322 × 237 mm. xvth cent.

\* \* Certain leaves wanting. Former owners: *Willelmus Young*, *Lionelius Woodward* (xvth cent.); *Thomas Colepeper*, 1568; *John Colepeper*, *John Hales*, *Johannes Kyng*; *George Lea Wasey* (xixth cent.). Arms of *Sir James Ley* of *Westbury*, afterwards *Earl of Marlborough*, on cover.

103. [R. 15385.] THE BRUTE OR THE CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND  
(with continuation to 1347).

Vell. ff. 130 + 4 + 2. 278 × 183 mm. Early xvth cent.

\* \* Imperfect. Lists of Anglo-Saxon Kings and of Archbishops of Canterbury from Augustine to Matthew Parker on flyleaves.

104. [R. 15386.] THE BRUTE OR THE CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND  
(with continuation to 1415).

Vell. ff. 133. 262 × 192 mm. xvth cent.

\* \* From ch. 101 onwards. Several leaves wanting. Former owners: Thomas Tomlynson, Robert Tomlynson (early xvth cent.).

105. [R. 15391.] (Phillipps, 9486.) THE BRUTE OR THE CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND (with continuation to 1413).

Vell. and paper. ff. 136 + 1 + 3. 279 × 206 mm. Early xvth cent.

\* \* Text somewhat abbreviated. Several leaves wanting. An incomplete note in another hand (f. 46b) says: *This chronicle was mayde the xth yere of the reynge of kynge Henry the viiith by the right renouned and myghty (ends abruptly).* Former owners: Thomas Hought; Ricardus Hobbes; Hugo Wynnard; Thomas Parwlyn, *surgion in civitate London*; Nicholaus Stevinson (xvth and early xviith cent.).

106. [R. 16445.] HANKINSON MSS.

Paper. 6 volumes; i-v, ff. 85, 18, 26, 134, 67, 325 × 205 mm.; vi, ff. 122, 312 × 232 mm. Late sixteenth cent.

\* \* Transcripts and notes concerning the history of Lancashire and Cheshire by Geo. H. Hankinson of Woodland Park, nr. Altrincham. Vol. I., *Copies of Cheshire Inscriptions*; II., *Copies of Inscriptions*; III., *Civil War in Lancashire and Cheshire*; IV., *Antiquarian Items relating to Lancashire and Cheshire*; V., *Deeds and documents relating to lands in Cheshire*; VI., *The Shores of Shore*, etc.

107. [R. 16446.] CHESHIRE. Bowdon Church Records.

Paper. 4 volumes, ff. 182, 234, 134, 34. 310 × 205 mm. sixteenth cent.

\* \* Copies of inscriptions, notes, etc., by George H. Hankinson. Vol. I., 1888; II., 1894; III., 1899; IV., undated.

108. [R. 18981.] GEORGE COLEMAN, JNR. *The Mountaineers*. A play in three acts.

Paper. ff. 142 + 3 + 2. 202 × 137 mm. Late xviith cent.

\* \* Note on fly-leaf: *This copy was made by Stokes the copyist of the Theatre D[rury] L[ane] for G. Coleman who has corrected some errors in it.*



109. [R. 21638.] EARLY SERMONS. (English and Latin).  
Vell. and Paper. ff. 126 + 3 + 3. 285 × 198 mm. xvth cent.  
\* \* Title on back: *Sermones MS.*, 1432. A collection of 4 MSS.  
(a) ff. 4-17, Sermons in English; (b) ff. 18-36, Sermons in Latin;  
(c) ff. 37-78, Sermons in English; (d) ff. 79-126, English commentaries on the Gospels for certain Sundays and feasts. Former owners: Thomas Gibbon (xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.); Charles Clark of Totham Hall, Essex, 1859; (c) only, *Johannes Wildon*; (d) only (f. 126b) *Iste liber constat abathie de Welle (?) . . . Et scriptus erat anno domini millesimo cccc<sup>mo</sup> xxx<sup>mo</sup> secundo*; Robert Prestwold.
110. [R. 21689.] THE MORAVIANS IN ENGLAND.  
Paper. ff. 18. 192 × 120 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.  
\* \* Proceedings of the English Provincial Synod at Lindsey House. Nov. 12-15th, 1754. Former owner: Rev. N. Libbey, Moravian College, Fairfield.
111. [R. 23153.] CORNISH-ENGLISH VOCABULARY.  
Paper. ff. 54. 205 × 170 mm. six<sup>th</sup> cent.
112. [R. 23211.] (Phillipps 150.) RECORDS. A Catalogue of the Nobilitie of England and a Collection as well of His Ma<sup>ties</sup> Courtes of Record as of his highnes most hon<sup>ble</sup> househould, The Counsell of the North, of Wales and the Marches, the Admiraltye, the Armorye, and the Minte, His Ma<sup>ties</sup> Tounes of Warre or defence, Castles, Bulwarks and fortresses. The Islands with his highnes howses, parkes, forrestes and chases, collected in the yeare 1616.  
Paper. ff. 50 + 4. 305 × 190 mm. 1616.  
See *Latin MS.* 324.
113. [R. 24403.] CHAUCER. Canterbury Tales.  
Paper. ff. 196. 300 × 210 mm. Late xvth cent.  
\* \* f. 3. Poem on the occasion of the death of Edward IV. f. 4. Poem by Henry Baradoun (fl. 1483). f. 195. Memoranda of deaths of English kings from Edward I. to Edward V. Former owners: *John Hull?* (xvth cent.); Laurence W. Hodson, Compton Hall, nr. Wolverhampton.
114. [R. 24500.] NEWS LETTERS.  
Paper. 4 volumes. 205 × 163 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.  
\* \* Collection of 204 letters, addressed to Sir William Temple, William Blathwayte (Temple's secretary) and others, from Mr. Williamson, Mr. Muddiman and others. Vol. I., Nos. 1-52, 1667-1670; II., Nos. 53-105, 1670; III., Nos. 106-149, 1670-1671; IV., Nos. 150-204, 1671-1679.

115. [R. 26426.] REV. THOMAS RAFFLES. *The Hundred of West Derby, Lancashire.*

Paper. ff. 681 + 4. 377 × 250 mm. sixteenth cent.

\* \* Notes, transcripts and drawings relating to places and families of Lancashire.

116. [R. 30703.] REGINALD HEBER, Bp. of Calcutta. *Biblical Quotations, etc.*

Paper. ff. 38. 110 × 89 mm. sixteenth cent.

\* \* Former owner: T. S. Raffles, esq., of Liverpool.

117. [R. 35543.] RECORD. *Quene Elizabeth's Newe Yere's Guiftes, 1559.*

Vell. roll. 3470 × 428 mm. 1558-59.

\* \* Two rollers attached. A list on one side of gifts to the Queen, and one on the other side of gifts made by the Queen. The signature *Elizabeth R.* at the head and foot of both sides of the roll.

- 117a. [R. 35543.] RECORD. *Transcript of the above roll.*

Paper. ff. 35. 310 × 200 mm. sixteenth cent.

\* \* Probably made by a former owner, Fred. W. Joy, M.A., F.S.A., Canon of Ely.

118. [R. 35747.] HON<sup>BLE</sup> WILLIAM WARREN VERNON. *Readings on the Inferno of Dante.*

Paper. 6 volumes, ff. 1440. 217 × 132 mm. sixteenth cent.

\* \* *Finished 4 March, 1893. Original MS. of Readings on the Inferno of Dante chiefly based on the Commentary of Benvenuto da Imola. (2 vols. London, 1894.)*

119. [R. 35748.] HON<sup>BLE</sup> W. W. VERNON. *Dante readings at Florence.*

Paper. ff. 93 + 3 + 1. 211 × 140 mm. 1887.

\* \* MS. of part of the first edition of *Readings on the Purgatorio of Dante chiefly based on the Commentary of Benvenuto da Imola. (2 vols. London, 1889.)*

120. [R. 36039.] ASTROLOGICAL MS.

Paper. ff. 198 + 11. 156 × 97 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* Probably a transcript. Originally bound with *Ephemerides of the Celestial motions, etc.*, by John Gadbury (London, 1718). Contains horoscopes of members of the Sparrow family (Norfolk, Suffolk, and Hants), 1681-1719. Former owner: Mr. Whitehead, Oldham.

121. [R. 36040.] ASTROLOGICAL MS.  
 Paper. ff. 75. 192 × 121 mm. sixth cent.  
 \* \* A collection of horoscopes. Former owner: Mr. Whitehead, Oldham.
122. [R. 36041.] THOMAS TRYON. A Discourse of Dreams and Visions.  
 Paper. ff. 71 + 4. 250 × 160 mm. sixth cent.  
 \* \* Transcript of the work published at London in or about 1689. Former owner: Mr. Whitehead, Oldham.
123. [R. 36478.] HENRY III. Itinerary of Henry III. of England.  
 Paper. ff. 166. 325 × 210 mm. sixth cent.
124. [R. 37269.] THOMAS HARDY. A Tragedy of Two Ambitions.  
 Paper. ff. 36. 260 × 205 mm. 1888.  
 \* \* Original MS.
125. [R. 40369-40370.] EDWARD PEACOCK. Diary (1860-1880).  
 Paper. 2 volumes. (a) ff. 95. 259 × 205 mm. (b) ff. 219. 229 × 175 mm. sixth cent.
126. [R. 40072.] THE BREAST PLATE OF SAINT PATRICK.  
 Vell. ff. 8. 173 × 122 mm. 1910.  
 \* \* *Written out and illuminated by Edith A. Ibbs.*
127. [R. 40333.] MISCELLANEA. (f. 1) Abraham de la Pryme. Antiquities of Winterton. (f. 34) A brief account of the drainage of the Level of Hatfield Chas and parts adjacent, etc. (f. 57) A true copie of the ancient deed of John de Mowbray, sometime Lord of the Isle of Axholme and the Honour of Brimber to the freeholders there, etc. (translated by Wm. Riley).  
 Paper. ff. 67 + 1 + 6. 189 × 151 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.  
 \* \* Transcripts. Former owner: Edward Peacock.
128. [R. 40334.] ABRAHAM DE LA PRYME. Short view of the History and Antiquities of Winterton.  
 Paper. ff. 26. 203 × 150 mm. 1703.  
 \* \* Autograph MS. Former owner: Edward Peacock.
129. [R. 40336.] MISCELLANEA.  
 Paper. ff. 133 + 2 + 2. 195 × 155 mm. Late xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.  
 \* \* Extracts in prose and verse, and genealogical and topographical notes relating to Lincolnshire by William J. Hasleden (from 1794 onwards). Former owner: Edward Peacock.

130. [R. 40341.] LINCOLNSHIRE. Rental of the Church of Kirton in Lindsey, 1484-1766.  
Paper. ff. 139 + 2 + 2. 318 × 198 mm. 16th cent.  
\* \* A transcript made by Edward Peacock.
131. [R. 40345.] LINCOLNSHIRE. Extracts from the court rolls of Little Carlton.  
Paper. ff. 52. 230 × 184 mm. 1884.  
\* \* Transcribed by Edward Peacock from MSS. lent by E. W. C. Amcotts, esq., of Hackthorn.
132. [R. 40348.] YORKSHIRE RECUSANTS.  
Paper. ff. 143. 330 × 205 mm. 16th cent.  
\* \* Extracts made by Edward Peacock from Rawlinson MS. 452.
133. [R. 40356.] LINCOLNSHIRE. Rental of the Lordship of Kirton in Lindsey . . . for the year 1650.  
Paper. ff. 60. 323 × 204 mm. 16th cent.  
\* \* Transcribed by Edward and Mrs. Peacock.
134. [R. 40360.] LINCOLNSHIRE WILLS, ETC.  
Paper. ff. 48. 333 × 206 mm. 16th cent.  
\* \* Extracted from a transcript of part of the Black Book of Newsham entitled *A particular of the several grants, privileges, and donations made to the Abbey of Newhus . . . faithfully translated into English by T[homas] T[urpin]. Anno Domini 1694.* Former owner: Edward Peacock.
135. [R. 40367.] LINCOLNSHIRE PEDIGREES.  
Paper. ff. 23. 435 × 269 mm. 16th cent.  
\* \* Various cuttings and notes by Edward Peacock.
136. [R. 40372.] LILBURN PEDIGREE.  
7 sheets mounted on a strip of linen. 2695 × 529 mm. 16th cent.  
\* \* *The following pedigree is appended to a Writ of Right produced by a member of the Lilburn Family in support of his claim against Claxton.* Former owner: Edward Peacock.
137. [R. 40391.] THOMAS HENRY BAKER. Monumental Inscriptions in the Cathedral of Salisbury.  
Paper. 2 volumes. ff. 127, 55. 325 × 204 mm. 1903.

138. [R. 40539.] [SIR RICHARD GIPP.] *Antiquitates Suffolcienses*.  
Paper. 2 volumes. ff. 139, 133. 311 × 200 mm. xviii  
cent.  
\* \* A transcript, with additions. Former owner: Sir Robert  
Smyth, Bart.
139. [R. 41005.] [DAVID ELISHA DAVY.] *List of Suffolk Arms*.  
[SIR RICHARD GIPP.] *Antiquitates Suffolcienses*.  
Paper. 4 volumes. i.-ii., ff. 229, 193. 241 × 190 mm.;  
iii.-iv., ff. 110, 126. 223 × 170 mm. xixth cent.  
\* \* An interleaved copy, with additions. Many coats of arms  
emblazoned by the Rev. George Bitton Jermyn, LL.D.
140. [R. 41381.] *WESTBY PEDIGREE*.  
Paper. ff. 3. Various sizes. 1916.  
\* \* Compiled by George Westby, M.R.C.P.I., V.D., Liverpool.
141. [R. 41899.] *EAST INDIA COMPANY. Memoranda relating to  
the Indian Navy*.  
Paper. ff. 125. Various sizes. 1853-1854.  
\* \* Memoranda by Sir Charles Wood and J. C. Mason.
142. [R. 41900.] *EAST INDIA COMPANY. Commissions and  
appointments*.  
Paper. ff. 71. Various sizes. 1839-1881.  
\* \* Letters and drafts of letters chiefly relating to appointments in the  
harbour and ship-building departments. Several are addressed to Mr.  
Mason.
143. [R. 41901.] *EAST INDIA COMPANY. Papers relating to the  
Bengal Pilot Services, etc.*  
Paper. ff. 35. Various sizes. 1857-1882.  
\* \* Letters and papers to Mr. Mason from Captain H. Howe, etc.
144. [R. 41902.] *EAST INDIA COMPANY. Military forces in India*.  
Paper. ff. 17. 322 × 192 mm. xixth cent.  
\* \* Extracts from Charles M. Clode's *The Military Forces of the  
Crown, their administration and government*. 2 vols., 1869.
145. [R. 41903.] *EAST INDIA COMPANY. Copies and drafts of  
Marine Dispatches, etc.* 1839-1871.  
Paper. ff. 122. Various sizes. xixth cent.



146. [R. 41904.] EAST INDIA COMPANY. Papers relating to Lord Clive's Fund.  
 Paper. ff. 86. Various sizes. xixth cent.  
 \* \* Drafts of application forms, transcripts of rules, etc.
147. [R. 49105.] EAST INDIA COMPANY. Poplar Fund.  
 Paper. ff. 59. Various sizes. xixth cent.  
 \* \* *List of pensions of pensioners on the Poplar Fund under the Court's decisions from 8 Dec., 1824—6 Oct., 1830.*
148. [R. 41906.] EAST INDIA COMPANY. Papers relating to pensions. 1862-1878.  
 Paper. ff. 73. Various sizes.  
 \* \* Papers relating to the Indian Navy and a few letters to Mr. Mason.
149. [R. 41907.] EAST INDIA COMPANY. Rules and regulations, etc. 1787-1830.  
 Paper. ff. 115. Various sizes.  
 \* \* Chiefly printed regulations, with manuscript notes relating to the Marine Department.
150. [R. 41908.] EAST INDIA COMPANY. Reports, dispatches and accounts of engagements.  
 Paper. 3 volumes. ff. 388, 388, 356. 325 × 192 mm. xixth cent.  
 \* \* A transcript of papers dealing chiefly with naval and military matters, I., 1749-1783; II., 1783-1792; III., 1792-1811.
151. [R. 41909.] EAST INDIA COMPANY. Movements of troop ships. 1867-1878.  
 Paper. ff. 39. Various sizes.  
 \* \* Printed programmes, etc., with manuscript additions.
152. [R. 41910.] EAST INDIA COMPANY. History of the Bombay Docks.  
 Paper. ff. 18. 345 × 207 mm. xixth cent.  
 \* \* Collection of notes and lists of ships built up to 1872.
153. [R. 41911.] EAST INDIA COMPANY. List of Bonds and Covenants. 1607-1770.  
 Paper. ff. 67. 321 × 192 mm. xviii th cent.

154. [R. 41912.] EAST INDIA COMPANY. Miscellaneous papers.  
3 bundles. Various sizes.  
\* \* (a) Papers relating to the Indian navy and the transport of troops to and from India (1858-1864), (b) papers relating to the Marine Department, (c) letters and notes of Mr. Mason, some relating to research for the Huguenot Society.
155. [R. 41913.] EAST INDIA COMPANY. Papers relating to the transport of troops and stores. 1850-1860.  
Large bundle. Various sizes.  
\* \* Also notes and lists relating to the Indian Navy.
156. [R. 41914.] EAST INDIA COMPANY. Poplar Alms-House Journal, 1840-1865.  
Paper. ff. 118. 367 × 232 mm.  
\* \* Old press mark: 22400.
157. [R. 41915.] EAST INDIA HOUSE. Housekeeper's weekly accounts, 1825-1829.  
Paper. ff. 198. 385 × 256 mm.  
\* \* Press mark: 22399.
158. [R. 41916.] EAST INDIA COMPANY. Indian Navy Memoranda. 1859-1861.  
Paper. ff. 87. Various sizes.  
\* \* A memorandum to or from Sir Charles Wood, and an appendix of documents.
159. [R. 41917.] EAST INDIA COMPANY. Memorandum respecting the Indian Navy and Bengal Marine by John Charles Mason, Esq., Secretary, Marine Branch. 16 Dec., 1852.  
Paper. ff. 57. 325 × 200 mm.  
\* \* Press mark: 22402.
160. [R. 41918.] EAST INDIA COMPANY. The Bombay Marine and Indian Navy. 1855-1857.  
Paper. ff. 42. 325 × 197 mm.  
\* \* Evidently a transcript of a printed paper.
161. [R. 41919.] EAST INDIA COMPANY. Notes on the Bombay Marine and Indian Navy.  
Paper. ff. 50. 333 × 209 mm. 1872.  
\* \* Notes collected by Commander J. H. Wilson, late Indian Navy.

162. [R. 41920.] EAST INDIA COMPANY. Lists of ships and commanders. 1707-1801.  
Paper. ff. 188. Various sizes.  
\* \* Printed works (a) *List of Commanders, etc.*, (b) *a Register of Ships, etc.*, in two volumes (printed for Charles Hardy, London, 1799, 1801(?)). Manuscript notes and indices added.
163. [R. 41921.] EAST INDIA COMPANY. Marine Department. Shipping Book. 1838-1854.  
Paper. ff. 93. 366 × 240 mm.  
\* \* Press mark: 22401.
164. [R. 41922.] EAST INDIA COMPANY. Poplar Fund. Memoranda.  
Paper. ff. 210. Various sizes. sixth cent.  
\* \* Letters, papers, etc., relating to the Poplar Fund and also to shipping. Press mark: 22387.
165. [R. 41923.] EAST INDIA COMPANY. Marine Department. Memoranda.  
Paper. ff. 107. 314 × 193 mm.  
\* \* Subject index of letters, etc., 1840-1885. Press mark: 22403.
166. [R. 41924.] EAST INDIA COMPANY. Maritime Compensation Lists.  
Paper. ff. 27. Various sizes. Early sixth cent.
167. [R. 41925.] EAST INDIA COMPANY. Ships to India. 1600-1708.  
Paper. ff. 160. Various sizes.  
\* \* Extracts from John Bruce's *Annals of the East India Company*, 1810.
168. [R. 41926.] EAST INDIA HOUSE. Minutes of the House Committee. 1824-1827.  
Paper. ff. 143. 340 × 200 mm.  
\* \* Extracts from original minutes.
169. [R. 41927.] EAST INDIA COMPANY. Troops and Marine Boys to India.  
Paper. ff. 254. 368 × 240 mm. sixth cent.  
\* \* Original shipping book containing (a) H.M. Troops to India from 1834 to 1871, (b) E.I. Co's recruits from 1833 to 1861, (c) Marine Boys from 1841-1861. Press Mark: 22404.

170. [R. 44415.] HOLY BIBLE (metrical translation).  
 Paper. ff. 170. 190 × 118 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.  
 \* \* An outline version, with a prologue signed J. D.
171. [R. 44644.] (Phillipps 2559.) TERRA PACIS. A True Testifica-  
 tion of that Spirituall Lande of Peace. . . . Sett foarth by  
 N and by him newly perused and more plainly declared.  
 Paper. ff. 77 + 1 + 1. 156 × 93 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.  
 \* \* A transcript of the English translation of Hendrik Niclas' book  
 [printed Amsterdam? 1575?]. Former owner: William Seale.
172. [R. 46376.] PETERLOO RELIEF FUND.  
 Paper. ff. 120. 179 × 112 mm. Early six<sup>th</sup> cent.  
 \* \* List of wounded, their addresses, wounds received, and amounts  
 paid. Former owner: *J. Rayner*.
173. [R. 45970.] (Phillipps 17605.) EAST INDIA COMPANY. Letters  
 in India, etc.  
 Paper. ff. 157. Various sizes. 1772-1789.  
 \* \* Papers relating to Indian affairs and to the affairs of the family of  
 Richard Johnson.
174. [R. 45971.] (Phillipps 16946.) EAST INDIA COMPANY. Re-  
 munerat[i]on of Directors.  
 Paper. ff. 48. 367 × 241 mm. six<sup>th</sup> cent.  
 \* \* Committee Report.
175. [R. 45973.] (Phillipps 16689.) EAST INDIA COMPANY. The  
 humble petition of Bury Hutchinson, esq.  
 Paper. ff. 28. Various sizes. *Circ.* 1830.  
 \* \* Manuscript and printed materials.
176. [R. 45985.] (Phillipps 16946.) EAST INDIA COMPANY. Letters  
 from<sup>1</sup> Bengal, etc.  
 Paper. ff. 102. Various sizes. 15 Jan.-15 Nov., 1771.  
 \* \* Letters, copies and drafts of letters, etc.
177. [R. 45990.] (Phillipps 28195, 33399.) EAST INDIA COMPANY.  
 Richard Johnson's papers.  
 Paper. 2 bundles. Various sizes. 1781-1800.  
 \* \* Letters, drafts of letters and reports, notes on Indian affairs, etc.

178. [R. 45991.] (Phillipps 17249.) EAST INDIA COMPANY. Letters on Indian affairs.

Paper. ff. 81. Various sizes. 1777-1788.

\* \* They include many letters from the Council at Madras to Richard Johnson, copies of letters to the Governor-General from Nabob Nizam al Dowlah, Tippoo Sultan and others, translations of correspondence between Tippoo Sahib and Mahajee Sindia, etc.

179. [R. 45991.] (Phillipps 21395.) EAST INDIA COMPANY. Letters and papers on Indian affairs.

Paper. Bundle of 19 items. Various sizes. 1775-1805.

\* \* Letters, drafts of letters, business notes, etc.

- 179a. [R. 45991.] (Phillipps 21395.) EAST INDIA COMPANY. Letters and papers on Indian affairs.

Paper. ff. 200. Various sizes. 1771-1805.

\* \* Letters, and copies of letters between Richard Johnson and Warren Hastings and others; miscellaneous notes, memoranda, drafts of proposals; translations of Indian letters to Warren Hastings; etc.

180. [R. 45992.] (Phillipps 17204.) EAST INDIA COMPANY. Letters from A. Lambert.

Paper. ff. 12. 315 × 199 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* Copy of letter to Lord Cornwallis, etc.

181. [R. 45993.] (Phillipps 17178.) INDIA. A survey of the roads in Bengall by Captain Rennell.

Paper. ff. 16. 195 × 120 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* Contains also certain accounts. Former owner: Richard Johnson.

182. [R. 45994.] (Phillipps 24536.) EAST INDIA COMPANY. Letters from the East Indies.

Paper. ff. 49. 224 × 143 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* *Letters Received from the East Indies, of which the following extracts and copies were received the 21st of May by the Deptford, one of the Companies ships, to the Honrable Court of Directors for affairs of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. MS. bound up with The Marches of the British Armies in the Peninsula of India during the campaigns of 1790 and 1791 . . . by Major Rennell. London, 1792.*

183. [R. 45995.] (Phillipps 33378.) EAST INDIA COMPANY. Letters on Indian affairs.

Paper. 5 items. Various sizes. 1790-1791.

\* \* Letters, copies and drafts of letters from Richard Johnson to the Hon. Henry Dundas and Lord Cornwallis.



184. [R. 45996.] (Phillipps 17248.) EAST INDIA COMPANY. Letters and papers on Indian affairs.  
Paper. ff. 34. 385 × 250 mm.  
\* \* A copy of George III.'s Charter to the East India Company (Mar. 26th, 1774), etc.
185. [R. 45997.] (Phillipps 17394.) EAST INDIA COMPANY. Letters and papers on Indian affairs.  
Paper. 7 items. Various sizes. 1770-1788.  
\* \* Statements, instructions, drafts of letters, etc. including Statements of the province of Nuddea (1778-1783), accounts relating to the Nabob's army (1781), instructions for the cross-examination of Richard Johnson, etc.
186. [R. 45998.] (Phillipps 23556.) EAST INDIA COMPANY. The King v. Greedhur Curr, Ramcour Bholanaut and Hurry Deb Roy.  
Paper. ff. 130. 317 × 199 mm. sixth cent.  
\* \* Proceedings and documents relating to the lawsuit before the Supreme Court of Bengal, 1810-1811.
187. [R. 45999.] (Phillipps 15910.) TRIAL OF WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ. Speech of Mr. Law, 14th, 17th, and 21st February, 1792.  
Paper. ff. 195. 318 × 199 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.  
\* \* Copy from Mr. Gurney's short-hand notes.
188. [R. 46001.] (Phillipps 21491.) EAST INDIA COMPANY. Letters and papers chiefly relating to Richard Johnson.  
Paper. 60 items. Various sizes. 1780-1830.  
\* \* Letters, drafts, memoranda, etc.
189. [R. 46001.] (Phillipps 21492.) EAST INDIA COMPANY. Letters and papers chiefly relating to Richard Johnson.  
Paper. 27 items. Various sizes. 1772-1802.
190. [R. 46001.] (Phillipps, 21493.) EAST INDIA COMPANY. Letters and papers chiefly relating to Richard Johnson.  
Paper. 60 items. Various sizes. 1770-1803.  
\* \* Copies of correspondence with Lord Cornwallis, Warren Hastings, etc.
191. [R. 46001.] (Phillipps, 17180.) EAST INDIA COMPANY. Letters and papers chiefly relating to Richard Johnson.  
Paper. 80 items. Various sizes. 1771-1802.  
\* \* Letters, drafts of letters, minutes in committee, agreements, etc.

192. [R. 46001.] (Phillipps, 21629.) EAST INDIA COMPANY. Letters and papers chiefly relating to Richard Johnson.  
Paper. 79 items. Various sizes. 1784-1803.
193. [R. 46000.] (Phillipps, 17213.) WARREN HASTINGS (or RICHARD JOHNSON?). Events in India.  
Paper. ff. 108. 328 × 202 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.  
\* \* A narrative (incomplete) of Mr. David Anderson's embassy in connection with Colonel Pearse's expedition, 1781, with appendices.
194. [R. 46002.] (Phillipps, 17251.) EAST INDIA COMPANY. Letters and papers relating to India.  
Paper. 33 items. Various sizes. 1770-1801.  
\* \* Letters of Richard Johnson, notes of events, memoranda, drafts, copies of letters to and from Warren Hastings, etc.
195. [R. 46003.] (Phillipps, 17206.) EAST INDIA COMPANY. Letters to Warren Hastings, etc.  
Paper. ff. 36. 314 × 202 mm. 1784.  
\* \* Copies of letters sent by Richard Johnson to Warren Hastings, Major Grattan and E. Hay; Memoranda of Richard Johnson after his appointment as resident at Hyderabad (14 Jan. 1784).
196. [R. 46004.] (Phillipps, 17607.) EAST INDIA COMPANY. Letters and papers relating to Warren Hastings and Richard Johnson.  
Paper. ff. 115. 323 × 200 mm. 1782-1788.  
\* \* Copies of letters, memoranda, etc.
197. [R. 46005.] (Phillipps, 21388.) EAST INDIA COMPANY. Letters and papers relating to Indian affairs.  
Paper. 37 items. Various sizes. 1750-1791.  
\* \* Drafts and copies of reports, treaties, etc.
198. [R. 53387.] INDIA. A book containing upwards of 4000 Miles of Roads in the Carnatick. . . . By John Pringle, Captain of Guides, etc. Madras, 1785.  
Paper. ff. 123. 356 × 258 mm.  
\* \* *B. Jones scripsit 1793.*
199. [R. 53309.] STATE CHURCH DISCUSSION.  
Paper. ff. 156. 321 × 213 mm. 1877.  
\* \* Verbatim report of a discussion in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, March 13th, 14th, 15th, 1876.
200. [R. 55378.] THE COMMUNION SERVICE.  
Vell. ff. 29. 150 × 104 mm. 1904.  
\* \* *Written and illuminated by Hesba D. Webb.*

## 201. [R. 55379.] THE BOOK OF RUTH.

Vell. ff. 16. 159 × 119 mm. 1905.

\* \* Written and illuminated by Miss H. D. Webb for the Caradoc Press.

## 202. [R. 55395.] ROBERT HASSALL. Commonplace Book.

Paper. ff. 78. 294 × 192 mm. xvth-xviiith cent.

\* \* Contemporary copy. The varied contents include interesting entries relating to the history and customs of Kent; the names of the Mayors and Sheriffs of Chester (1326-1612), with notes; many pieces of verse, including a poem *Uppon the death of Robert Devereux late Erle of Essex, etc.*, and *A treatise of the famous and renowned Stanleys*; notes on legal proceedings, etc. Later hands insert notes on the pedigree of the family of Leche of Carden, 1584-1711, etc. Former owners: *John Leech*; *Thomas Babbington*; *Found at Carden 1885 and rebound 1886. J. H. Leche, Carden Park, Chester*; *C. L. Ricketts*.

## 203. [R. 55479.] THE ROYAL JUBILEE EXHIBITION, MANCHESTER, 1887. The Chairman's Album.

Paper. ff. 99. 293 × 237 mm. 1887.

\* \* Autographs of members of the Royal family, leading Manchester dignitaries and other notable persons. Former owners: *Lady Lee*; *Lennox Bertram Lee*.

## 204. [R. 5322.] WILLIAM GREGSON. Portfolio of Fragments relative to the History and Antiquities of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster.

Paper. 3 parts in 2 volumes. 1817.

\* \* An interleaved copy of this printed work with manuscript additions. Former owner: *John Foster, Architect, Liverpool*.

## 205. [R. 12433.] WILTSHIRE. The Topographical Collections of John Aubrey, F.R.S., . . . corrected and enlarged by John Edward Jackson, M.A., F.S.A.

\* \* Published by the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society, London, 1862, in 4to. MSS. additions, drawings, water-colours, engravings, etc. Former owner: Canon J. E. Jackson.

## 206. [R. 33820.] THE BRUTE OR THE CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND (to 1326).

Vell. ff. 104 + 4. 263 × 192 mm. Late xivth-xvth cent.

\* \* Names in margins and former owners: *William Campinet of Kilworthy(?) Yorks*, *Mergret Banister, John Peell of Stokes, Notts*, *William Kyeclhyner, Will Fann van moter (xvith-xviiith cent.)*; *Daniel Parker Croke, Fellow of All Souls, Oxford*; *George Dunn of Woolley Hall, near Maidenhead*.

207. [R. 33821.] THE BRUTE OR THE CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND  
(with continuation to 1415).

Vell. 103 + 21 (paper) + 3 + 3. 274 × 203 mm. xivth-  
xvth cent.

\* \* Original MS. on vellum, completed later on paper. The MS. supplies additional details to the texts published by Caxton and F. W. D. Brie. Names in margins and former owners: *Thomas Heaton of Knowisley, Willyam Aston, Willyam Wollsall, Thomas Dyconson* (xvth-xviih cent.); *Bibliotheca Palmeriana, July 30th, 1749*; *John Quantock*; *George Dunn of Woolley Hall*.

- 208-209. [R. 45957.] (Phillipps 6799.) JOHN CALEY. Index to particulars for grants *temp.* Henrici VIII. in the Augmentation Office.

Paper. 2 volumes. ff. 222, 228. 336 × 205 mm. 1801.

\* \* Vol. I., Letters A to L, pp. 1-444; II., Letters L to Z, pp. 445-900.

210. [R. 45957.] (Phillipps 6800.) JOHN CALEY. Index to particulars for grants *temp.* Edwardi VI. in the Augmentation Office.

Paper. ff. 200. 336 × 205 mm. 1801.

211. [R. 45957.] (Phillipps 6801.) JOHN CALEY. Index to particulars for grants *temp.* RR. Phil. et Marie in the Augmentation Office.

Paper. ff. 113. 336 × 205 mm. 1801.

\* \* Printed copy (by G. Gilmour, 1839) inserted.

212. [R. 45957.] (Phillipps 6802.) JOHN CALEY. Index to particulars for grants *temp.* Reg. Elizab. in the Augmentation Office.

Paper. ff. 120. 336 × 205 mm. 1802.

213. [R. 35254.] LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE LETTERS.

Paper. 175 items. 1578-1769 (chiefly xviih cent.).

\* \* A collection of letters and papers connected with Roman Catholic affairs and containing private correspondence relating to the families of Hoghton of Hoghton, Hoghton of Park Hall, Dalton of Thurnam, and others. Descriptive catalogue added.

214. [R. 32534.] ARMORIAL. The Nobility of England from the time of the Conquest.

Paper. ff. 258. 405 × 255 mm. xixth cent.

\* \* In six books (unfinished). Some coats emblazoned. Numerous pedigrees.

215. [R. 49331.] INDIA. Abstract of plans for the Government of India.  
Paper. ff. 104. 326 × 204 mm. Late xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.
216. [R. 40342.] LINCOLNSHIRE. An Abstract out of the generall Survey of the Soke of Kirketon in Lindssey in the Countie of Lincoln, with all the manors, townships, . . . which survey was taken by Jo: Norden, John Thorpe and John Norden, Junior. Anno Domini, 1616.  
Paper. ff. 136. 362 × 230 mm. 1862.  
\* \* Transcript made by E[dward] P[eacock] from Cambridge University MS. No. 1273.
217. [R. 40363.] LINCOLNSHIRE. Scotter Parish Register.  
Paper. ff. 201. 344 × 223 mm. sixth cent.  
\* \* A copy made for E. Peacock.
218. [R. 40344.] MISCELLANEA.  
Paper. ff. 206. Various sizes. sixth cent.  
\* \* Notes and transcripts of documents relating to Lincolnshire lands and families, made by E. Peacock. Index of persons and places.
219. [R. 40361.] LINCOLNSHIRE. Accounts of the Church of Kirton in Lindsey. 1538-1817.  
Paper. ff. 32. 320 × 195 mm. sixth cent.  
\* \* Chiefly for years 1573 to 1681. A transcript by E. Peacock, with index.
220. [R. 40362.] LINCOLNSHIRE. Accounts of the Church of Leverton. 1492-1625.  
Paper. ff. 170. 325 × 195 mm. 1865.  
\* \* A transcript by E. Peacock.
221. [R. 40349.] LINCOLNSHIRE COLLECTIONS.  
Paper. ff. 141. 338 × 201 mm. sixth cent.  
\* \* Transcripts and notes relating to Lincolnshire and Lincolnshire families, from the Black Book of Newsham Abbey and papers found in the collection of W. S. Hesleden of Barton-upon-Humber.
222. [R. 40352.] LINCOLNSHIRE. Register of the parish of Hemwell. 1676-1812.  
Paper. ff. 46. 319 × 195 mm. sixth cent.  
\* \* A transcript by Edward Peacock.
223. [R. 40357.] LINCOLNSHIRE VISITATION. 1562.  
Paper. ff. 207. 336 × 205 mm. 1865.  
\* \* A transcript by Edward Peacock from Queen's College (Oxford) MS. No. XCII., with an index.



## 224. [R. 40358.] DE CORONATORE.

Paper. ff. 184. 335 × 200 mm. sixteenth cent.

\* \* Letters, papers, etc., relating to the dismissal of Mr. Charles Henry Holgate of Kirton in Lindsey, coroner, 1865 and later.

## 225-226. [R. 40349.] LINCOLNSHIRE WILLS, ETC. 1508-1675.

Paper. 2 volumes. ff. 269, 275. 338 × 200 mm. sixteenth cent.

\* \* Transcripts by Edward Peacock.

## 227. [R. 40355.] CORNWALL. The Counte boke of the hysse Cross Wardenys of Stratton. 1512-1577.

Paper. ff. 125. 223 × 197 mm. sixteenth cent.

\* \* A transcript by Edward Peacock.

228. [R. 40343.] LAWSUIT. *Beauchamp v. Wynn*.

Paper. ff. 87. Various sizes. 1867.

\* \* Papers relating to the lawsuit between the Right Honourable Henry, fifth Earl Beauchamp, and the Right Honourable Frederick, sixth Earl Beauchamp, plaintiffs, and Charles Wynn of Nostell Priory, Yorks.

## 229-231. [R. 40350.] LINCOLNSHIRE. Accounts of the Church of St. James in Louth. 1501-1750.

Paper. 3 volumes. ff. 305, 275, 231. 324 × 192 mm. 1868-1872.

\* \* A transcript by E. Peacock. MS. 229, 1501-1524; MS. 230, 1527-1559; MS. 231, 1560-1750 (extracts only), and index.

## 232. [R. 40365.] PEDIGREES.

Paper. ff. 114. Various sizes. sixteenth cent.

\* \* Chiefly of Lincolnshire families. Former owner: Edward Peacock.

## 233. [R. 40366.] CIVIL WAR COLLECTIONS I. Ensigns of London, 1643-1644.

Paper. ff. 64. 224 × 176 mm. 1870.

\* \* A transcript by E. Peacock of Harleian MS. No. 986.

## 234-236. [R. 40366.] CIVIL WAR COLLECTIONS II-IV. Miscellaneous notes and extracts.

Paper. 3 volumes. ff. 196, 296, 198. Various sizes. sixteenth cent.

\* \* Transcripts, extracts, and notes by E. Peacock, chiefly relating to the Civil War in the North of England. MS. 235 largely concerns William Rainborowe.

237. [R. 40366.] CIVIL WAR COLLECTIONS V. A List of Officers claiming to the sixty thousand pounds, etc., granted by His Sacred Majesty for the relief of His Truly-Loyal and Indigent Party.

Paper. ff. 273. 229 × 185 mm. sixth cent.

\* \* A transcript of the list printed for Henry Brome, London, 1663, with an index by E. and M. P[eacock].

- 238-239. [R. 40366.] CIVIL WAR COLLECTIONS VI.-VII. Battles and Sieges.

Paper. 2 volumes. ff. 194, 154. 227 × 178 mm. sixth cent.

\* \* *Notes from a Quarto Volume of Tracts in the Library of Lincoln Coll., Oxford, marked BATTLES SIEGES SUR-RENDERS Articles.* By E. Peacock.

240. [R. 40359.] LINCOLNSHIRE. Court rolls of the manor of Scotter. 1519-1757.

Paper. ff. 150. 254 × 200 mm. sixth cent.

\* \* Extracts by E. Peacock.

241. [R. 40351.] LINCOLNSHIRE. Churchwardens Accounts of Sutterton. 1492-1536.

Paper. ff. 138. 226 × 182 mm. 1878.

\* \* Extracts by E. Peacock from Rawlinson MS. Misc. 951 (now Rawlinson MS. D. 786), with index.

242. [R. 40353.] COLLECTANEA GERVASII HOLLES.

Paper. ff. 204. 225 × 184 mm. 1879.

\* \* Extracts by E. Peacock from Lansdowne MS. 207, with index.

243. [R. 40340.] CIVIL WAR. A Catalogue of the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen who have compounded for their Estates. London, 1655.

Paper. ff. 71. 237 × 91 mm. sixth cent.

\* \* The catalogue is *reduced to alphabetical order and illustrated with biographical and genealogical notes* by H[enry] T[yrwhitt], Barrister at Law of the Inner Temple + 1838].

244. [R. 40340.] CIVIL WAR. A transcript of part of MS. 243.

Paper. ff. 91. 219 × 178 mm. sixth cent.

\* \* By E. Peacock.

245. [R. 40347.] LINCOLNSHIRE. Some account of Messingham . . . by J. Mackinna, M.A., curate. 1825.

Paper. ff. 61. 229 × 185 mm. 1866.

\* \* A transcript by E. Peacock.

246. [R. 40346.] OXFORD. Register of Christ Church, Oxford.  
1633-1865.

Paper. ff. 56. 229 × 177 mm. 1866.

\* \* \* Extracts by E. Peacock.

247. [R. 40354.] HISTORICAL MISCELLANY.

Paper. ff. 141. 228 × 176 mm. sixth cent.

\* \* \* Transcripts by Edward Peacock of rentals, rolls, and charters relating to Goxhill, Thornton Abbey, Winterton, and elsewhere in Lincolnshire.

248. [R. 40368.] HISTORICAL MISCELLANY.

Paper. ff. 164. Various sizes. sixth cent.

\* \* \* Extracts from Lincolnshire court rolls (Hen. VII.-Hen. VIII.); transcripts of Lincolnshire Wills (1579-1666); monumental inscriptions, etc. By E. Peacock.

249. [R. 43524.] LINCOLNSHIRE. *Liberi tenentes Comitatus*  
Lincolnie. 1561.

Paper. ff. 33. 224 × 182 mm. sixth cent.

\* \* \* A transcript by E. Peacock of Lansdowne MS. 5.

- 250-286. [R. 24452.] EDWARD PEACOCK MSS.

Paper. 37 boxes. Various sizes.

\* \* \* The contents of the boxes are as follows:—

No. 250. A to Amz.  
251. Ana to Azy.  
252. Bab to Bel.  
253. Bel to Bib.  
254. Bla to Boz.  
255. Bra to Byz.  
256. Cab to Caz.  
257. Cec to Chy.  
258. Cib to Coy.  
259. Cra to Cyr.  
260. Dac to Diz.  
261. Doi to Dyo.  
262. Ead to Eyt.  
263. Fab to Fli.  
264. Foa to Fyx.  
265. G to Gyn.  
266. H to Hey.  
267. Hia to Hyr.  
268. I to Ize.

No. 269. Jac to Kyt.  
270. Lab to Ley.  
271. Lib to Lyt.  
272. M to Mez.  
273. Mic to Myt.  
274. N to Nym.  
275. Oak to Pay.  
276. Pea to Ply.  
277. Poa to Qua.  
278. Rab to Ryv.  
279. S to Sep.  
280. Ser to Spl.  
281. Spo to Syl.  
282. T to Typ.  
283. V to Wei.  
284. Wel to Zym.  
285. Place names.  
286. Genealogical notes.

Notes, alphabetically arranged, on all manner of subjects, names, places, etc.

287. [R. 39329.] LEGAL FORMS.

Paper. 194 + 2 + 3. 205 × 149 mm. Late xvth cent.

\* \* Many acts transcribed relate to Preston in Amounderness and elsewhere in Lancashire. Some forms in Latin, but mostly in English. Names on binding: *John Thompson*; *John Willoughby*.

288. [R. 39329.] LEGAL COMMONPLACE BOOK. (f. 1) [Modus tenendi curiam Baronis]. (f. 24a) Formula for use of clergy. (f. 25) Une lyver de exposition de parcelles de sez tenures fait a ton mon fitz a pluiz apprender et endender les tenures (French). (f. 58) Fragments of early statutes (Latin). (f. 71) Natura brevium. (f. 156) Registrum brevium (1435-1436). (f. 163) Cases, writs, and legal notes.

Paper. ff. 188. 224 × 154 mm. xvth cent.

\* \* Several manuscripts bound together. On f. 1 is the date *Anno Domini 1479*; ff. 25-57b is a copy of books i., ii., iii. (part only) of *Littleton's tenures*; ff. 71-155b is similar to the *Natura Brevium* published by Redman, 1529. Former owners: *Liber Johannis Wolffi* (to f. 23 only); *John Willoughby* (xvth cent.).

289. [R. 59098.] F. W. RAINES. Works.

\* \* 13 volumes, published by the Chetham Society, 1845 to 1875. Author's copy with MSS. additions.

290-291. [R. 59098.] HALLIWELL AND BESWICKE PAPERS.

Paper. 2 volumes. ff. 183, 136. 325 × 200 mm. sixth cent.

\* \* Transcripts and extracts by Canon Raines from deeds and family papers of his brother-in-law, John Halliwell Beswicke, Pike House, Rochdale.

292. [R. 14553.] A. DARBYSHIRE. Heraldic Collection.

Paper. ff. 98. 370 × 270 mm. sixth cent.

\* \* Notes, cuttings, etc.

293. [R. 59101.] MISCELLANY.

Paper. ff. 33. 308 × 200 mm. xvth-xviith cent.

\* \* Part of a collection of materials relating to the Parliament of 1625; a brief abstract of the Question of Presidency between England and Spain . . . collected by Robert Cotton (imperfect); papers relating to the ordering of the Revenue, etc.

294. [R. 59102.] THOMAS POVEY. Papers.

Paper. 17 items. Various sizes. 1662-1677.

\* \* Papers relating to the Revenues of James, Duke of York, etc.

295. [R. 60344.] LANCASHIRE. Court Books of Barton Manor, 1692-1768.

Paper. 84 items, chiefly double sheets. Various sizes.

\* \* Former owner : Rev. T. N. Postlethwaite, Urswick, near Ulverston.

- 296-306. [R. 24457.] W. D. PINK. A Dictionary\* of Members of Parliament in the Tudor and Stewart periods (incomplete).

Paper. 11 boxes. sixteenth-xxth cent.

\* \* The contents of the boxes are as follows:—

- I (296). Abarow to Ayscough. ff. 262.
- II (297). Baber to Booth (George). ff. 350.
- III (298). Booth (Henry) to Bythell. ff. 399.
- IV (299). Cabell to Cyrde. ff. 317.
- V (300). Dabridgecourt to Eyton. ff. 289.
- VI (301). Fagge to Fyrell. ff. 299.
- VII (302). Gage to Gynns. ff. 407.
- VIII (303). Hacker to Hewett (William). ff. 369.
- IX (304). Hewett (Sir William) to Hyrne. ff. 360.
- X (305). Ibrian to Kyvet. ff. 310.
- XI (306). Lacon to Love (William). ff. 307.

307. [R. 24457.] W. D. PINK. A Dictionary of Members of Parliament in the Tudor and Stewart periods, arranged by alphabetical order of Counties : Bedfordshire to Devonshire.

Paper. 1 box. ff. 353.

\* \* Mainly for the Long Parliament.

- 307a. [R. 24457.] W. D. PINK. Notes on the Long Parliament.

\* \* 10 small note-books.

- 307b. [R. 24457.] W. D. PINK. Notes on the Long Parliament, Pride's Purge, etc.

\* \* 5 note-books.

308. [R. 24457.] W. D. PINK. Notes on the Members of Parliament for London (Edward I.-George IV.).

Paper. 1 box. ff. 351.

- 308a. W. D. PINK. Papers.

\* \* Miscellaneous papers relating to (a) M.P.'s for Middlesex; (b) various Parliaments, 1273-1346; (c) various M.P.'s. Loose papers, letters and note-books in box.

309. [R. 24457.] W. D. PINK. Miscellaneous Papers.

\* \* 1 box containing a rough draft of the letters A and B of the Dictionary, and a list of Parliaments, with various details (from Edward I.-Victoria).



310. [R. 24457.] W. D. PINK. *Miscellaneous Papers.*  
 \* \* 1 box containing notes and letters relating to the Dictionary, etc.
311. [R. 24457.] W. D. PINK. *Members of Parliament.*  
 \* \* W. D. Pink's own copy of pp. 375-607 (*i.e.* from 1 Edward I.), interleaved and with many additions and corrections, of *Parliaments of England, 1213-1702.*
- 312-317. [R. 24457.] W. D. PINK. *Notes for the Dictionary of Members of Parliament.*  
 Paper. 6 volumes. ff. 235 each. 203 × 322 mm.  
 \* \* The contents of the volumes are as follows :—  
     I (312). Abarow to Cheney.  
     II (313). Chibborne to Frome.  
     III (314). Frowyke to Kyriel.  
     IV (315). Lacy to Philip.  
     V (316). Phillipot to Thornton.  
     VI (317). Thorold to York.
- 318-320. [R. 24457.] W. D. PINK. *Index of Members of Parliament, 1547-1702.*  
 Paper. 4 volumes. ff. 235 each. 328 × 200 mm.  
 \* \* The contents of the volumes are as follows :—  
     I (318). A to Du.                      III (319). Kn to Ro.  
     II (318a). Du to K.                      IV (320). Ro to Y.
- 320a. [R. 24457.] W. D. PINK. *Parliamentary proceedings, etc.*  
 \* \* 5 note-books, chiefly relating to the years 1660 to 1708.
- 320b. [R. 24457.] W. D. PINK. *Index of Members of Parliament.*  
 \* \* 2 volumes.
- 321-322. [R. 24457.] W. D. PINK. *Notes for the Dictionary of Members of Parliament.*  
 Paper. 2 volumes. ff. 235 each. 326 × 200 mm.  
 \* \* The members are arranged in alphabetical order of counties :—  
     I (321). Bedfordshire to Staffordshire.  
     II (322). Suffolk to Wales (the Welsh counties in alphabetical order).
323. [R. 24457.] PARLIAMENT. *The Knights and Burgesses returned to Parliament in the xiiiith year of Queen Elizabeth, 1571.*  
 Paper. ff. 25. 229 × 180 mm.  
 \* \* A transcript, made for W. D. Pink, of the De Tabley MS. in the British Museum.

324-328. [R. 24457.] W. D. PINK. *Members of Parliament for London, 1265-1727.*

5 note-books.

\* \* The note-books relate to the following years:—

I (324).	1265-1349.	ff. 200.	217 × 138 mm.
II (325).	1351-1417	} ff. 200 each.	200 × 130 mm.
III (326).	1419-1553		
IV (327).	1553-1688		
V (328).	1689-1727		

328a. [R. 24457.] W. D. PINK. *Papers, etc.*

\* \* Miscellaneous small note-books and papers concerning (i) Members for London, (ii) various polls in England and Ireland, (iii) sundry Parliamentary matters.

329-333. [R. 24457.] W. D. PINK. *Polls before 1882.*

5 note books. ff. 200, 198, 150, 71, 127. 178 × 113 mm.

\* \* The contents of the note-books are as follows:

I-III (329-331).	Polls in England, in order of counties.
IV (332).	Polls in Scotland.
V (333).	Polls in Ireland.

333a-333m. [R. 24457.] W. D. PINK. *Miscellaneous notes and papers.*

\* \* A large collection containing:—

- 333a. Lists of Lord Mayors, aldermen, sheriffs and other officials of London (with notes). 6 note-books.
- 333b. Miscellaneous lists of London officials (with notes). 9 note-books.
- 333c. Aldermen and various officials of London. Many small note-books and papers.
- 333d. Extracts from the Registers of Lincoln's Inn, the Inner Temple, etc. 4 note-books.
- 333e. London wills, marriage licences, extracts from church registers, etc. 14 note-books
- 333f. Pedigrees. 5 note-books.
- 333g. Various genealogical notes.
- 333i. Lists of English judges, law officers, etc. (with notes). 7 note-books.
- 333j. Lists of Archbishops of Canterbury, Privy Councillors, and of the chief officers of State. 5 note-books.
- 333k. Lists of Colonial judges and law officers, the mayors of Chester and of Berwick, a list of colonels, lists of early kings, etc. 4 note-books.
- 333l. Miscellaneous papers and news cuttings. 1 box.
- 333m. Lists of European and Oriental rulers and nobility (with notes); extracts from published works. 7 note-books.

- 334-335. [R. 32990.] J. ROBY. Traditions of Lancashire.  
 Paper. 2 volumes, ff. 219, 377. Various sizes. xixth cent.  
 \* \* MS. presented to Rev. Thomas Raffles, D.D., etc., by John Roby,  
 4th March, 1847. The work was published in 1829-1831.
336. [R. 25818.] THOMAS CARLYLE. Letters.  
 24 items. various sizes. 1820-1853.  
 \* \* Former owner : C. H. Cooper.
337. [R. 56745.] JOHN MARRIOTT. Letters to C. K. Sharpe.  
 10 items. Various sizes. 1805-1809.
338. [R. 56758.] SELINA HASTINGS, Countess of Huntingdon.  
 Letters.  
 14 items. Various sizes. 1774-1784.  
 \* \* Former owner : The Rev. Thomas Raffles, D.D., LL.D.
339. [R. 30426.] FARR PAPERS.  
 74 items. Various sizes. 1826-1832.  
 \* \* Chiefly letters to William Winsham Farr from his friends, W. E.  
 Gladstone, Arthur Hallam and others.
340. [R. 60213.] AUTOGRAPHS.  
 Paper. ff. 30. 355 × 305 mm.  
 \* \* Many letters and papers affixed written or signed by writers, divines,  
 politicians and others, chiefly of the xixth century.
341. [R. 44671.] AUTOGRAPHS.  
 Paper. ff. 133. 305 × 252 mm. xixth cent.  
 \* \* A volume in which are inserted numerous letters and papers,  
 written or signed by people of note, chiefly of the Victorian era.
342. [R. 24507.] AUTOGRAPHS.  
 Paper. ff. 100. 176 × 223 mm. xixth cent.  
 \* \* Mainly signatures of people connected with the Temperance  
 movement.
- 343-350. [R. 64098.] AUTOGRAPHS.  
 \* \* 8 boxes containing a large collection of letters and papers written  
 or signed by various notable people, English or foreign. Many of them  
 have considerable literary or historic interest. Numerous portraits  
 inserted. Most of the letters came from the collection of the Rev.  
 Thomas Raffles, Liverpool.

## 351-355. [R. 24445.] ORIGINAL LETTERS. Poets.

\* \* A collection of autograph letters, etc., of 231 English poets (chiefly sixteenth cent.). Many portraits and engravings. Former owner: Rev. Thomas Raffles, D.D. The contents of the boxes are as follows:—

- |                       |                      |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| I (351). A to Cro.    | IV (354). Lyt-Ros.   |
| II (352). Cow to Hod. | V (355). Row to Wra. |
| III (353). Hof-Lof.   |                      |

*See MSS. 388.*

## 356-362. [R. 24446.] ORIGINAL LETTERS. Artists.

\* \* A collection of autograph letters, etc., of 392 artists, chiefly Englishmen of the sixteenth century. Many portraits, engravings, drawings, etc. Former owner: Rev. Thomas Raffles, D.D. The contents of the boxes are as follows:—

- |                    |                       |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| I (356). A to B.   | V (360). L to Phy.    |
| II (357). C to D.  | VI (361). Pid to Sta. |
| III (358). E to G. | VII (362). Ste to Y.  |
| IV (359). H to K.  |                       |

*See MSS. 389, 390.*

## 363-368. [R. 24447.] ORIGINAL LETTERS. Nobility.

\* \* A collection of autograph letters, etc., of 542 members of the English nobility (chiefly sixteenth cent.). Many engravings, etc. Former owner: Rev. Thomas Raffles, D.D.

The contents of the boxes are as follows:—

- |                     |                      |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| I (363). A to Cam.  | IV (366). K to Norf. |
| II (364). Can to D. | V (367). Nor to Sid. |
| III (365). E to H.  | VI (368). Sk to Z.   |

*See MSS. 391, 392.*

## 369-371. [R. 24448.] ORIGINAL LETTERS. Nonconformist Divines.

\* \* A collection of autograph letters, etc., of 133 English Nonconformist Divines from 1658 to 1821. A few portraits. Former owner: Rev. Thomas Raffles, D.D.

The contents of the boxes are as follows:—

- |                  |                   |                    |
|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| I (369). A to F. | II (370). G to N. | III (371). O to W. |
|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|

*See MSS. 388.*

## 372-386. [R. 24449.] ORIGINAL LETTERS. Authors.

\* \* A collection of autograph letters, etc., of 2260 authors (chiefly English). Many portraits, engravings, etc. Former owner: Rev. Thomas Raffles, D.D.

The contents of the boxes are as follows:—

- |                         |                         |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| I (372). A to Bai.      | V (376). Doy to Ful.    |
| II (373). Bec to Bro.   | VI (377). G. to Haz.    |
| III (374). Bro to Chas. | VII (378). Hea to Hy.   |
| IV (375). Chas to Doy.  | VIII (379). lbb to Lay. |

IX (380). Lea to Mas.

X (381). Mas to O.

XI (382). P to Q.

XII (383). R. to She.

XIII (384). Sher to Sy.

XIV (385). T to V.

XV (386). W to Y.

See MSS. 393-399.

387. [R. 24450.] ORIGINAL LETTERS. Missionaries.

\* \* A collection of autograph letters, etc., of 135 Missionaries (chiefly English). Engravings, etc. Former owner: Rev. Thomas Raffles, D.D.

See MS. 399.

388. [R. 24451.] AUTOGRAPHS. Calendar of documents relating to Nonconformist Divines in MSS. 369-371 and to Poets in MSS. 351-355.

Paper. ff. 166. 175 × 112 mm. *Circ.* 1898.

\* \* By Miss A. M. Cooke.

389-390. [R. 24451.] AUTOGRAPHS. Calendar of documents relating to Artists in MSS. 356-362.

Paper. 2 volumes: i. ff. 72, 203 × 129 mm.; ii. ff. 95, 108 × 175 mm. 1899.

\* \* By Miss A. M. Cooke.

391-392. [R. 24451.] AUTOGRAPHS. Calendar (incomplete) of documents relating to Nobility in MSS. 363-368.

Paper. 2 volumes. ff. 61, 51. 176 × 114 mm. *Circ.* 1898.

\* \* By Miss A. M. Cooke.

393-399. [R. 24451.] AUTOGRAPHS. Calendar of documents relating to Authors in MSS. 372-386 and to Missionaries in MS. 387.

Paper. 7 volumes. ff. 217, 110, 108, 124, 122, 137, 205. 176 × 111 mm. 1897.

\* \* By Miss A. M. Cooke.

400. [R. 24453.] CHARLOTTE BRONTË. Letter.

Paper. ff. 2. 211 × 137 mm. 1842.

\* \* *Lettre d'invitation à un Ecclesiastique.* Another note enclosed, Sept. 1849 (?).

401. [R. 24454.] HOLY BIBLE. Translation of Part of Samuel, Book I, transcribed by King Pomare of Tahiti.

Paper. ff. 35 + 2 + 2. 121 × 94 mm. 1819.

\* \* Rev. John Nott's translation into Tahiti. Former owner: *George Bennet.*



402. [R. 24455.] REV. THOMAS BOSTON. *Sermon.*

Paper. ff. 14 + 1 + 1. 158 × 100 mm. 1715.

\* \* Former owner : Rev. Thomas Raffles, D.D.

403. [R. 24456.] [REV. ALEXANDER PIRIE?] *Sermons.*

Paper. ff. 62. 98 × 160 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* Former owner : Rev. Thomas Raffles, D.D.

404. [R. 24458.] ENGLISH MEDICAL MS.

Paper. ff. 46. 207 × 140 mm. xv<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* An unbound fragment containing numerous medical receipts, etc.

405. [R. 61204.] LEGAL PROCEDURE. *The motions, pleadings, and proceedings in the Severall Courts of Westminster together with many cases, etc. [1670-1683].*

Paper. ff. 380. 314 × 204 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* An index added.

406. [R. 61184.] RECORDS. *A table to all the records in the Tower.*

Paper. ff. 101. 311 × 193 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.

407. [R. 60873.] LAWYER'S LETTER-BOOK. 1821-1827.

Paper. ff. 186. 411 × 250 mm. xix<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* Business book of T. W. Briderman, Tetbury.

- 408-409. [R. 61164.] PROCEEDINGS IN LEGAL CASES. 1736-1738.

Paper. 2 volumes. ff. 91, 126. 100 × 158 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.

410. [R. 61206.] COMMONPLACE BOOK.

Paper. ff. 72. 146 × 90 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup>-xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* Many poems, proverbial sayings, etc.

411. [R. 48353.] J. MEARNS. *Index to the Hymn Melodies.*

Paper. ff. 16. 216 × 140 mm. 1919.

\* \* Index to the third edition printed for the Plain-song and Mediæval Music Society, MCMXIV. 5 letters inserted.

412. [R. 61716.] THE PORE CAITIFF.

Vell. ff. 72 (+ 12 + 7 paper). 204 × 141 mm. *Circ.* 1400.

\* \* Imperfect. Letters from Charles Le Bas, W. W. Skeat, and others, inserted. Former owner : J. J. Green.

413. [R. 61717.] BONAVENTURA. *The Lyif of Crist* (translated by Nicolas Love).

Vell. ff. 50 (+ 9 + 2 paper). 232 × 171 mm. Early xvth cent.

\* \* Imperfect. Letters from W. W. Skeat, L. F. Powell and others inserted. Former owner : J. J. Green.

- 414-415. [R. 63635.] THE BOW IN THE CLOUD.

\* \* 2 volumes containing the original MSS. of verse and prose contributions to *The Bow in the Cloud* or *The Negro's Memorial* (Jackson and Walford, London, 1834), together with numerous letters to the compiler and editor Mrs. M. A. Rawson (*née* Read), Wincobank Hall, Sheffield, many expressing views on the Slave Question, from (a) contributors and (b) non-contributors, including W. Wordsworth, R. Southey, T. Moore, T. B. Macaulay, T. Campbell, and others. There is also in the Library a large bundle of letters to Mrs. Rawson and Anti-Slavery pamphlets.

416. [R. 61987.] (Phillipps 4459.) ARMS AND SEALS.

Paper. ff. 43. 167 × 101 mm. Late xviii cent.

\* \* Former owner : Richard Towneley of Towneley, Lancs. (1702).

417. [R. 62144.] ANTHONY STAFFORD. *The Guide of Honour*.

Paper. ff. 46 + 2 + 1. 138 × 90 mm. 1692.

\* \* Transcribed with prefatory letters, by C. Garretz, 1692. ff. 40-46 contain *Occasional Meditations taken out of Bishop Hall's Works together with some marginal notes thereon*. Former owner : Edward Dalton, LL.D., F.S.A.

418. [R. 62215.] ARMORIAL. *Catalogue of English Gentry*.

Paper. ff. 230. 198 × 156 mm. xviii cent.

\* \* Taken from xvth and early xviii century Visitations, and arranged alphabetically, but is unfinished, ending at Orgon. Former owner : A. Huggett, M.A.

419. [R. 62214.] THE CHARTER OF THE CITY OF GLOUCESTER, [1671].

Paper. ff. 78. 153 × 101. 1697.

\* \* A transcript, followed by a brief abstract of the charter.

420. [R. 62862.] G. CUMBERLAND. *Catalogue of Library*. 1793.

Paper. ff. 89. 188 × 234 mm. xviii cent.

421. [R. 62531.] DIARY. *A Journey through England and Wales*.

Paper. ff. 129 + 4. 186 × 112 mm. 1812.

\* \* Former owner : *Henrietta Sturrell* (1855).

- 422-424. [R. 62861.] THOMAS HELSBY. *Ormerod's History of Cheshire.*

Paper. 3 volumes. ff. 93, 98, 91. 1870-1880.

\* \* Numerous letters and notes to T. Helsby relating to Cheshire, etc.

425. [R. 62198.] ASTROLOGICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL NOTES.

Paper. ff. 90. 329 × 206 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* Former owner: *William Dyer, May, 1787.*

426. [R. 63492.] LINCOLNSHIRE. *Records of the manor of Kirton in Lindsey.*

Paper. ff. 38. Various sizes. xix<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* Extracts from records by Edward Peacock.

427. [R. 63491.] THE MAN OF PLEASURE. *A Comedy in Two Acts . . . by a Gentleman in Manchester.*

Paper. ff. 25. 208 × 134 mm. Early xix<sup>th</sup> cent.

- 428-439. [R. 63636.] RADCLIFFE MSS. *Family Crests and Mottoes.*

Paper. 12 boxes. xx<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* The contents of the boxes are as follows:—

- I [428]. Family Mottoes. A to J.
- II [429]. Family Mottoes. L to Z.
- III [430]. Family Crests. Acorn to Birch.
- IV [431]. Family Crests. Bird to Cypress.
- V [432]. Family Crests. Dagger to Fetterlock.
- VI [433]. Family Crests. Filbert to Hands.
- VII [434]. Family Crests. Hare to Lion.
- VIII [435]. Family Crests. Lion to Moorsheads.
- IX [436]. Family Crests. Moorcock to Stag.
- X [437]. Family Crests. Stag to Yoke.
- XI [438]. Index I. A to Le.
- XII [439]. Index II. Le to Z.

Notes, mainly compiled from printed works by John Radcliffe, Greenfield, near Oldham, Lancs.

440. [R. 63723.] ROGER PAYNE. *Bills for bindings.*

Paper. 6 items. 300 × 232 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.

441. [R. 64134.] HISTORY OF DISSENT. *Minutes of the fourth London Classis. 1646-1660.*

Paper. ff. 161. 330 × 203 mm. Late xix<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* A transcript by W. A. Shaw, M.A., Litt.D., of the original MS. (unpublished) in Dr. Williams's Library, London.

442. [R. 64135.] HISTORY OF DISSENT. Minutes of the London Provincial Assembly. 1647-1660.

Paper. ff. 380. 330 × 203 mm. 1890-1892.

\* \* A transcript by W. A. Shaw of the original MS. (unpublished) at Zion College collated with a MS. occurring at the end of *The Minutes of the Westminster Assembly of Divines*, Vol. III., in Dr. Williams's Library. Many notes by the transcriber.

443. [R. 64136.] HISTORY OF DISSENT. Minutes of the Manchester Classis. 1647-1660. Minutes of the United Brethren. 1693-1700.

Paper. ff. 161. 330 × 203 mm. *Circ.* 1873, 1890.

\* \* A transcript by W. A. Shaw from the MS. in Cross Street Chapel; edited W. A. Shaw, Chetham Society Publications, New Series, Nos. 20 (1890), 22 (1891), 24 (1891).

444. [R. 64137.] HISTORY OF DISSENT. Minutes of the Cornwall Classis. 1655-1658. Minutes of the Cambridge Classis. 1657-1658.

Paper. ff. 48. Various sizes. Late sixteenth cent.

\* \* Transcripts by W. A. Shaw; the Cornwall material is from the MS. of the Massachusetts Historical Society; the Cambridge material from Lambeth MS. 937; edited by W. A. Shaw, Chetham Society Publications, No. 41 (1898), Appendices.

445. [R. 64138.] HISTORY OF DISSENT. Minutes of the Bury Classis. 1647-1657. Minutes of the Nottingham Classis. 1656-1660.

Paper. ff. 142. Various sizes. *Circ.* 1890.

\* \* Transcripts by W. A. Shaw. The Bury material is from the Walker MS. in the Bodleian; the Nottingham material from the MS. in the High Pavement Chapel, Nottingham; edited by W. A. Shaw, Chetham Society Publications, Nos. 36 (1896), 41 (1898). Some unpublished Nottingham material also added.

446. [R. 64139.] PLUNDERED MINISTERS. Lancashire.

Paper. ff. 300. Various sizes. *Circ.* 1890.

\* \* Extracts transcribed for W. A. Shaw from Bodleian MSS. 322-329, British Museum Additional MSS. 15669, 15670, 15671, MSS. in the Public Record Office, and from the Collections for Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*. Index added. Part only of MSS. 446-449 edited by W. A. Shaw, Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society Publications, Nos. 28 (1893), 34 (1897).

447. [R. 64139.] PLUNDERED MINISTERS. Cheshire.  
Paper. ff. 125. 325 × 203 mm. *Circ.* 1893.  
\* \* Extracts transcribed for W. A. Shaw from MSS. in the Bodleian, British Museum, and Public Record Office.
448. [R. 64139.] PLUNDERED MINISTERS. Extracts. 1643-1659.  
Paper. ff. 614. Various sizes. 1893.  
\* \* Extracts transcribed by W. A. Shaw from MSS. in the Public Record Office, British Museum, Bodleian, Baker MSS. (Cambridge), Sion College and Lambeth Library.
449. [R. 64139.] LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE AUGMENTATIONS.  
1652-1660.  
Paper. ff. 674. Various sizes. Late sixteenth cent.  
\* \* Extracts transcribed by W. A. Shaw from Lambeth MSS. 944-947, 966-1021. An index to MSS. 446-449.
450. [R. 64140.] LANCASHIRE PROTESTORS.  
Paper. ff. 332. Various sizes. *Circ.* 1889.  
\* \* Transcripts by W. A. Shaw of J. E. Bailey's copies of the original lists in the House of Lords. The lists of Manchester and Dalford only are printed.
451. [R. 64141.] JOHN MOORE, M.P. Diary. 23 Feb., 1640/1-21 April, 1641.  
Paper. ff. 449. 213 × 161 mm. Late sixteenth cent.  
\* \* A transcript by W. A. Shaw of Vol. II. of the diary, from Harleian MS. 476.
452. [R. 64142.] LAWRENCE WHITACRE, M.P. Diary of Proceedings in the House of Commons. 1644-1645.  
Paper. ff. 53. 205 × 164 mm. Late sixteenth cent.  
\* \* Extracts made by W. A. Shaw from British Museum Additional MS. 31116.
453. [R. 64143.] HISTORY OF DISSENT. Minutes of the Dedham (Essex) Classis. 1582-1589. Letters and Papers illustrative of the Minute Book.  
Paper. ff. 331. 302 × 202 mm. 1892.  
\* \* A transcript by W. A. Shaw from the MS. of John Henry Gurney, Esq., of Keswick Hall, near Norwich. Selections only of the above papers have been edited by R. G. Usher, Royal Historical Society Publications, 3rd Series, vol. viii.



454. [R. 64144.] HISTORY OF DISSENT. The Seconde Parte of a Register.  
 Paper. ff. 424. 324 × 206 mm. 1892.  
 \* \* A transcript by W. A. Shaw of the first third of the well-known MS. in Dr. Williams's Library.
455. [R. 64145.] LANCASHIRE. Extracts from Manchester Parish Registers.  
 Paper. ff. 91. 323 × 203 mm. Late sixth cent.  
 \* \* Transcribed for W. A. Shaw.
456. [R. 64146.] CHURCH HISTORY. Biographical Notes on clergymen of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.  
 Paper. 3 boxes or drawers. Late sixth cent.  
 \* \* Numerous slips, alphabetically arranged, by W. A. Shaw. To be used in conjunction with MS. 457.
- 457-460. [R. 64147.] CHURCH HISTORY. Ecclesiastical Debates and Legislation. 1640-1660.  
 Paper. 4 volumes. ff. 256, 268, 254, 193. Late sixth cent.  
 \* \* Extracts from Lords and Commons Journals made by W. A. Shaw. For the arrangement of the extracts see the prefatory note to Vol. I. Numerous slips containing additional extracts have been inserted in Vol. IV.
461. [R. 64148.] W. A. SHAW. The Knights of England.  
 Paper. ff. 646. 257 × 202 mm. Ante 1906.  
 \* \* The original MS. of W. A. Shaw's *The Knights of England*, Vol. II., London, 1906; giving the collation of the sources used.
462. [R. 64149.] W. A. SHAW. The Knights of England.  
 Paper. ff. 482. 257 × 190 mm. 1905.  
 \* \* A collation of the proofs of W. A. Shaw's *The Knights of England*, Vols. I. and II., London, 1906, with the Register of Knights in the Heralds College.
463. [R. 64150.] W. A. SHAW. Biographical Notes on the Knights Bachelor.  
 Paper. 4 boxes or drawers. Circ. 1900.  
 \* \* Numerous slips, to be alphabetically arranged, containing memoranda for the annotation of the lists of Knights Bachelor.
464. [R. 64487.] LIST OF KNIGHTS. 1558-1752.  
 Paper. ff. 266. 254 × 203 mm. xxth cent.  
 \* \* A transcript by the late Mrs. W. A. Shaw of British Museum Additional MS. 32102.

## 465. [R. 64488.] THE KNIGHTS OF ENGLAND.

Paper. ff. 30. 254 × 203 mm. xxth cent.

\* \* Notes and transcripts by W. A. Shaw, including a transcript of part of Lansdowne MS. 870 and notes on the contents of other MSS. in the British Museum.

## 466. [R. 64489.] ORDER OF KNIGHTHOOD. List of Companions of the Bath (Military). 1815-1881.

Paper. ff. 281. 258 × 201 mm. xxth cent.

\* \* Notes and transcripts by the late Mrs. W. A. Shaw.

## 467. [R. 64490.] ORDER OF KNIGHTHOOD. War Office Records of the Order of the Bath. 1827-1843.

Paper. ff. 156. 262 × 207 mm. xxth cent.

\* \* Extracts made by the late Mrs. W. A. Shaw from records sent from the War Office to the Public Record Office.

## 468. [R. 60050.] JAMES HENRY LEWIS. A Guide to the Delightful Recreation of Short-Hand.

Paper. ff. 9. 316 × 188 mm. 1825.

\* \* A transcript by W. Dewsbury, sent with a letter to John Cheetham, Gatley Hill.

## 469. [R. 45960.] MAPS AND CHARTS.

Paper. 19 items. Various sizes. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* Former owners: 'Warren Hastings' Collection, Sir Thomas Philipps. The collection consists of

- (a) *Plan de Pondicherry et ces environs et les attaques que les Anglois ont faite l'année 1778. To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Warren Hastings.* 636 × 754 mm.
- (b) *General Map of the Carnatic and the Coast of Malabar.* Inscribed to Warren Hastings by Robert Kelly, 1782. *J. Fouquet fecit.* 705 × 875 mm.
- (c) *A Plan of the Enterings into the Western Branch of the Ganges. Per John Rit[chie], A.D. 1770.* 863 × 553 mm.
- (d) *A plan of Col. Henry Watson's Docks and Marine Yard.* *T. Miller sculpsit.* 674 × 407 mm. Scale, 150 feet = 1 inch. Printed map.
- (e) *Plan of Alipoor Gardens.* 619 × 504 mm. Scale, about 95 feet = 1 inch.
- (f) *A Map of Calcutta to Chitpoor-Bridge, 1781.* 545 × 749 mm.
- (g) *Plan of Tuppah Havelly, etc. Copied by T. Call.* 584 × 692 mm. Scale, 4 inches = 1 mile.
- (h) *A Plan of the Fortress of Gwalior.* *W. N. Cameron, Lieut. of Engineers.* 521 × 746 mm. Scale, 16 inches = 1 mile.

- (i) *Plan and Sections of Bijah-Gur Fort. Thomas Brown, Engineer, January 4th, 1782. 606 × 793 mm. Scale, 360 feet = 1 inch.*
- (j) *Plan of Achtiar and its surroundings, with river soundings. 470 × 865 mm.*
- (k) *An Actual Survey of the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar, etc., by Major James Rennell, Esq<sup>r</sup>, Engineer. Wm. Haydon sculpsit. In 4 parts. Scale, nearly 12 miles = 1 inch. Printed Maps.*
- (l) *The Coast of Tannaserim. Capt. Forrest's Charts, 1783. 529 × 759 mm.*
- (m) *A Plan of Syriam River, carefully corrected by J. Ritchie, Snr., Feb<sup>y</sup>, 1776. 822 × 453 mm.*
- (n) *Plan of the Ground at the Point of Sumatra opposite Surman's Gardens. 534 × 769 mm. Scale, 100 feet = 1 inch.*
- (o) *A Chart of the Red Sea corrected from Observations and Remarks made in the course of two Voyages to and from Suez in the Years 1773 and 1777. By Daniel McLennan. 575 × 2015 mm.*
- (p) *A Chart of the upper part of the Red Sea from Suez to Juddah. 860 × 567 mm.*

470. [R. 64569.] SIR THOMAS EGERTON. Election expenses.

Paper. ff. 17. 201 × 157 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* *An Account of the several Disbursements incurred during Sir Thomas Egerton's Election at Lancaster, which began the Fifth day of February, 1772. 2 receipts inserted.*

471. [R. 64281.] FRANCIS DUKINFIELD ASTLEY. Poems and Translations. 1819.

Paper. ff. 102. 162 × 101 mm. Early six<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* ff. 93-102. Notes and Addenda; f. 102, *Lines written at Ravensthorp, in Northamptonshire, 22<sup>d</sup> April, 1821.* Former owner: Frank Andrew, Esq.

472. [R. 64652.] ORDER OF KNIGHTHOOD. The Statutes and Ordinances of the Most Noble Order of St. George, named the Garter, etc. (to 13 Elizabeth).

Paper. ff. 30. 189 × 150 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* Former owners: Henry Hill; W. A. Shaw.

473. [R. 64654.] ORDER OF KNIGHTHOOD. The Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath.

\* \* Sir George Nayler's interleaved copy of the work printed in 1827, giving the names of officers who have had the Order conferred for services in the late war, and also the rules of the Order. Many manuscript notes and alterations for revised Rules and Ordinances, dated 1832. Former owner: W. A. Shaw.

474. [R. 64658.] ORDER OF KNIGHTHOOD. Knights and Commanders of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath.

\* \* 2 printed lists (interleaved), one of army officers belonging to the Order since the revision of 1815, the other of Companions of the Order. Numerous manuscript additions and lists supply information for the years before 1860. Eleven letters and notes to Albert W. Woods, Esq<sup>re</sup>, Lancaster Herald (afterwards Sir Albert W. Woods, Garter King of Arms), and one from Sir N. Harris Nicholas are inserted. A number of letters to, and notes by, Sir A. W. Woods are inserted in the early volumes of *Dod's Peerage*, *Baronetage*, etc., in the Library. Former owner: W. A. Shaw.

475. [R. 64655.] FRANCIS TOWNSEND. A Calendar of Knights (from 1760).

\* \* An interleaved copy of the printed work (W. Pickering, London, 1828), with numerous manuscript additions. Former owners: James Roberts Brown; Sir A. W. Woods; W. A. Shaw.

476. [R. 64657.] FRANCIS TOWNSEND. A Catalogue of Knights (from 1660-1760). A Calendar of Knights (from 1760).

\* \* A volume consisting of interleaved copies of the above printed works (the Catalogue was printed by Harjette and Savill, London, 1833), with numerous manuscript additions. Former owners: Sir A. W. Woods; W. A. Shaw.

477. [R. 64656.] SIR THOMAS PHILLIPPS. A Catalogue of Knights (1624-1646).

Paper. ff. 33. 183 × 119 mm. sixth cent.

\* \* This has been printed (Middle Hill, 1853). It is bound up with John Philipot's *A Perfect Collection or Catalogue of all Knights Batchelaurs*, etc. Former owners: Sir A. W. Woods; W. A. Shaw.

478. (Crawford Irish Collection 11.) ANNALS OF INNISFALLEN (250-1315 A.D.).

Paper. ff. 133 + 2 + 2. 290 × 231 mm. sixth cent.

\* \* f. 2b. *This volume purchased at the sale of G. Petrie, Esq., LL.D. It is in the early hand-writing of the late J. O'Donovan, LL.D., and is extremely valuable. D.H.K. May, 1866. Former owner: D. H. Kelly.*

479. (Crawford Irish Coll. 36.) FENIAN TALES I. (f. 10) The Lay of Gabhra of Bemon. (f. 16) The Lay of Great Leyney. (f. 19) The Struggle of Ceis Corran. (f. 26) The Lay of the Black Hound. (f. 33) The Exploits of Fionn in the Danes Country. (f. 44) The Adventures of Turlough McStarn, etc. (f. 100)

The Adventures of the Three Sons of Turlough. (f. 163) The Lay of Dearg McDriotchoil. (f. 170b) The Lay of Talc McTreoin. (f. 173) The Lay of the Children of Lir. (f. 195) The Lay of the Children of Tuireim.

Paper. ff. 229. 231 × 185 mm. sixth cent.

\* \* f. 2. *A Collection of Fenian Tales. Literally translated from the Original Irish MSS. by Michael McDermott and D. H. Kelly, Esq. A.D. 1851. Vol. I.* At the end of the last tale is the note written by me on the ninth day of Oct., 1807. James Brown. Former owner: D. H. Kelly. For Irish versions of many of the tales in this and the following volumes see the *List of Irish MSS.* in the Library.

480. (Crawford Irish Coll. 37.) FENIAN TALES II. (f. 3) The Lay of Magnus, etc. (f. 8) The Combat of Carroll with Goll McMorna at Almuin. (f. 11b) The Battle of the Fenians with the son of the King of Syria, etc. (f. 15) The Conflict of Magnus . . . with the Fenians of Eirin. (f. 18) The Controversy of the Chase. (f. 23b) The Lay of the Fisting Match. (f. 26b) The Burning of the Mansion of Fionn McCumhall. (f. 32b) The Lay of the Gigantic Fool. (f. 38b) The Legend of Caoilte and Oisín. (f. 45b) The Chase of Slieb Grot and Slieb Gullion. (f. 51b) The Chace . . . at Slieve Truim. (f. 58b) The Chace of Slieve Gullion. (f. 72b) The Bloody Onslaught of Conall Clearnaigh, etc. (f. 95) The Defeat . . . of Muirthemine. (f. 130) The Cause of the Death of Meave. (f. 131) The Death of Conry McDaire. (f. 134b) The Ages of the Chiefs of the Fenians. (f. 135) How Conor McFactna . . . came by his Death. (f. 139b) A chronology. (f. 140) The Death of Ceith McMagach. (f. 141b) The Death of Victorious Laogaire. (f. 142) The Education of Cucullin. (f. 161b) The Death of Fergus McRiogh. (f. 163) How Conlaoch McCuchullin was slain. (f. 166) The Combat of the Fear Diaigh with Cuchullin. (f. 190) The Coming of Conlaoch McCuchullin to Erin. (f. 195) The Death of Conlaoch, the Son of Cuchullin. (f. 227) Cuchullin, after slaying his own son Conlaoch.

Paper. ff. 228. 224 × 186 mm. sixth cent.

\* \* f. 2. *A Collection of Fenian Tales. Literally translated from Irish MSS. in lib. R. I. Academy and McMahon Coll<sup>n</sup> by D. H. Kelly, Esq., and Michael McDermott. Vol. II.* On ff. 3, 11b, 15, the name *Dr. Drummond* is written against the titles of the tales; on ff. 18, 26b, 45b, 72b, 95, 130, 131, 134b, 135, 139b, the initials *D.H.K.* Former owner: D. H. Kelly.



481. (Crawford Irish Coll. 38.) FENIAN TALES III. (f. 2) James O'Cane's questions to the Oak and its Reply. (f. 8) The Evil Report of Goll's Daughter, etc. (f. 60) The Adventures of the Bald-pated Dog. (f. 140) The Tale of Merlin the Malignant. (f. 182) The Surpassing Excellence of Fionn McCumhall. (f. 192) The Exploits and Adventures of the Great Youth, Son of the King of Spain.

Paper. ff. 237. 233 × 185 mm. sixth cent.

\* \* Each tale translated from Irish MS. by D. H. Kelly, M.R.I.A., and M. McDermott.

482. (Crawford Irish Coll. 39.) FENIAN TALES IV. (f. 3) The Chace . . . at Slieve Truim. (f. 18.) The Chace of Slieve Gullion. (f. 49) The Chace of the Dark Valley. (f. 54) The Chace of Gien an Sgath. (f. 58) Cuilleán. (f. 64) The Inquiry of Hugh McGarry. (f. 65) The Lament of Elphin. (f. 67) The Song of the Cairn. (f. 70) Goll's Host. (f. 71) Bearrach Breac. (f. 77) Patrick's Arran. (f. 79) Almhuin. (f. 81) The Plain. (f. 83) Oisín's Vision. (f. 85) The Three Heroes. (f. 92) Fionn's Dwarf. (f. 97) The Grave of Diarmid. (f. 100) The Destruction of the Fenians. (f. 105) The Music and Hunting of the Fenians. (f. 109) The Quicksand of Liffey. (f. 119) The Slaughter of Cumhall. (f. 121) Allein McNuadhat. (f. 123) The Swim of the Two Birds. (f. 134) The Invasion of Maolan. (f. 138) The Death of Garraidh. (f. 143) The Tale of Fair Meas. (f. 146) The Song on Cnock Almhuin. (f. 148) The Age of Fionn. (f. 163) Cluain Ceasain. (f. 165) Rath magh Guaire. (f. 169) Formnai. (f. 170) The Division of Erin. (f. 180) Fionn at Ros Broc. (f. 182) Fionn's Evil Journey. (f. 183) The Exploits of Fionn. (f. 184) Caoilte's Reminiscences. (f. 186) Caoilte's Astronomy. (f. 187) A Lament for Fionn. (f. 188) The Tomb of Heroes. (f. 189) The Stone. (f. 190) Fionn's Contest with the Bards. (f. 191) In Praise of Fionn. (f. 194) Rath of Cinn Con. (f. 196) The Witch and the Fenians. (f. 199) Caoilte's Tale. (f. 221) Fionn's Advice to McLugaidh. (f. 223) Fionn's Prophecy of Ciarán. (f. 225) Goll's Elegy. (f. 227) Fionn's Prophecy of Madheog. (f. 229) Garraidh's Tale. (f. 235) The Song of Fergus McFionn. (f. 237) Fergus in Praise of Goll. (f. 240) Fergus on Oscar. (f. 248) The Battle of Gabhra.

Paper. ff. 256. 227 × 185 mm. sixth cent.

\* \* f. 2. *Poems attributed to Oissin from the McMahon Collection in the Library of Castle Kelly, translated by D. H. Kelly, Esq., M.R.I.A. Vol. I.*

483. (Crawford Irish Coll. 40.) FENIAN TALES V. (f. 4) The Lay of Binn Bulbin. (f. 6) The Praises of Fionn. (f. 11) Patrick and Oisín. (f. 17) The King of Greece's Son. (f. 20) Oisín replies to Patrick. (f. 28) A Dialogue between Patrick and Oisín. (f. 56) Aircín McCancair. (f. 61) Oisín's Tale of Goll. (f. 64) The Lay of Speckled Diarmid. (f. 69) A Dialogue between Patrick and Oisín. (f. 96) The Battle of the Hill of Slaughter. (f. 112) The Lay of Meargach of the Spear. (f. 146) The Lament of Aile. (f. 164) The Lament of Oisín. (f. 181) The Chace of Lough Lein. (f. 207) The Spell on the Fenians. (f. 244) The Lay of Fierce Moighre. (f. 252) The Lay of the Cloak. (f. 256) The Lay of the Blackbird. (f. 258) The Lay of Cab an Dasan. (f. 268) When Fionn was slain. (f. 269) The Lay of Fiacha. (f. 278) The Lay of Conn McDearg. (f. 286) The Lay of Rath Arach.

Paper. ff. 289. 227 × 185 mm. sixth cent.

\* \* The continuation of MS. 482.

- 484, 485. (Crawford Irish Coll. 41, 42.) FENIAN TALES VI., VII. The Cattle Raid of Cuailgne.

Paper. ff. 318, 173. 227 × 182 mm. sixth cent.

\* \* Translated by D. H. Kelly.

486. (Crawford Irish Coll. 43.) FENIAN TALES VIII. The Adventures of Conal Gulban.

Paper. ff. 268. 228 × 187 mm. 1856.

\* \* *Translated from Irish MS. by D. H. Kelly, M.R.I.A., and Michael McDermott, 1856. Various notes inserted by Eugene O'Curry.*

487. (Crawford Irish Coll. 44.) FENIAN TALES IX. (f. 2) The Mansion of the Little Red Eochy. (f. 47) The Mansion of the Quicken Tree. (f. 120) The Adventures of the Difficult Youth, or Thin Grey Ceatharna. (f. 161) The Tale of the Small Mansion of Almuin. (f. 192) The Diligent Search for Saidhbe. (f. 256) The Adventures and Wanderings of the Grey-coated Clown.

Paper. ff. 284. 230 × 186 mm. 1856.

\* \* The third tale was translated by D. H. Kelly, the others by D. H. Kelly and Michael McDermott.

- 488-494. (Crawford Irish Coll. 127-133.) FENIAN TALES (Metrical Translation) I.-IV., VI.-VIII.

Paper. ff. 310, 278, 282, 144, 93, 155, 179. Various sizes.  
xixth cent.

\* \* Vols. I. and II. are dated 1853, Vol. V. is missing (but see above MS. 482). The tales are described as *done into metre by D. H. Kelly, Esq., M.R.I.A.* The tales in MS. 488 are found, literally translated, among those in MS. 479; the tales in MS. 489, except *The Banishment of the Sons of Uisneach* (ff. 3-26), are in MS. 480; those in MS. 490, except *The Lamentation of the Sons of Uisneach* (ff. 139-197), in MSS. 479, 480; those in MS. 491 are in MS. 482, and the tale in MSS. 492-494 is in MSS. 484, 485.

495. (Crawford Irish Coll. 53.) GENEALOGICAL NOTES.

Paper. ff. 41 (many blank). 185 × 112 mm. xixth cent.

\* \* Extracts from the O'Gorman Genealogical MSS., etc., in the Royal Irish Academy, relating to the O'Kelly's. Former owner: D. H. Kelly.

496. (Crawford Irish Coll. 54.) COLLECTANEA DE REBUS HIBERNICIS I. (f. 3) The Battle of Knockton. (f. 13) Eric or Finn's forslaying according to Brehon law. (f. 13b) Irish families. (f. 16) The cries of several of the great men of Ireland. (f. 17) An abstract of *Pandarus, sive Salus Populi*. (f. 76) The General Hosting at Tarah, 1593. (f. 85) The Customs, Rights and Privileges of O'Kelly of Hy Many.

Paper. ff. 94. 186 × 114 mm. xixth cent.

\* \* The contents of this and the following volumes are mostly retranscribed from MSS. collections in the Library of the Royal Dublin Society. The treatise on the O'Kelly was translated by John O'Donovan in 1837 from *The Book of Lecan*. A letter from O'Donovan is also transcribed.

497. (Crawford Irish Coll. 100.) COLLECTANEA DE REBUS HIBERNICIS II. (f. 4) A letter from Sir Thos. Cusacke, Lord Chancellor of Ireland to the Duke of Northumberland, 1552. (f. 42) A letter from Sir John Davis, Knt., Attorney General of Ireland, to the Earl of Salisbury, 1606.

Paper. ff. 85. 185 × 111 mm. xixth cent.

\* \* Former owner: D. H. Kelly. For the second half of the letter from Sir John Davis see below, MS. 498.

498. (Crawford Irish Coll. 99.) COLLECTANEA DE REBUS HIBERNICIS III. (f. 2) A letter from Sir John Davis (continued). (f. 30) A Book of Postings and Sale of Forfeited and other

Estates and Interests in Ireland (extracts). (f. 46) Rev. John Keogh's Statistical Account of the County of Roscommon . . . for Sir William Petty, 1683. (f. 66) Teigue O'Dugan's Genealogy of the O'Donellans, 1750. (f. 78) The Genealogy of the O'Maolalla, Count of Lally Tollendal. (f. 85) Inscription on the Old Bridge of Athlone, 1843/4.

Paper. ff. 86. 184 × 112 mm. xixth cent.

\* \* \* Former owner : D. H. Kelly.

499. (Crawford Irish Coll. 55.) COLLECTANEA DE REBUS HIBERNICIS. (f. 3) The Genealogical proof of the Royal Milesian Race of Ireland. (f. 15) The Fianaibh-Eirin. (f. 22) O'Connor pedigrees. (f. 34) The Prophecy of Saint Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh, 1134. (f. 38) The Origin of the Irish name of the Barony of Kiltartan.

Paper. ff. 40. 177 × 113 mm. xixth cent.

\* \* \* Extracts from O'Gorman MSS. etc. Former owner : D. H. Kelly.

500. (Crawford Irish Coll. 66.) MACARIAE EXCIDIUM.

Paper. ff. 255. 236 × 183 mm. 1843.

\* \* \* *Macariae Excidium or the Destruction of Cyprus, containing the last Warr and Conquest of that Kingdom written originally in Syriac by Philotas Philocypres, translated into Latin by Gratianus Ragallus, P.R.* A translation into English by D. H. Kelly, side by side with a transcript of the Latin text, of the work by Colonel Charles O'Kelly, 1692. Together with the MS. are 9 letters and notes (1843-1857); one from the Rev. James Scott to the Rev. J. H. Todd, D.D., Trinity College, Dublin; seven written by Dr. Todd; the other from Thomas Keightley to J. O'Donovan, LL.D. The work was edited by J. C. O'Callaghan (Dublin 1850) for the Irish Archæological Society.

501. (Crawford Irish Coll. 70.) CAOILTE. The Ford where the Fenians were prevented from slaying Fionn (incomplete).

Paper. ff. 43. 230 × 188 mm. Circ. 1861.

\* \* \* Translated by Michael McDermott and D. H. Kelly, M.R.I.A., from *The Book of Lismore* in the Library of the R.I.A.

502. (Crawford Irish Coll. 96.) CORRESPONDENCE. Copies of original letters from the Rt. Hon<sup>ble</sup> Robert Boyle to the Rev. Narcissus Marsh D.D.

Paper. ff. 41. 224 × 190 mm. 1864.

\* \* \* Copies of 18 letters, dated 1681-1685, from Robert Boyle respecting the publication of the Irish Bible, 1684; also of 3 letters to Boyle, from Hugh Reilly, the editor of the work. Transcribed by D. H. Kelly, M.R.I.A., 1864.

503. (Crawford Irish Coll. 114.) CATALOGUE. The Irish Historical MSS. in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin.

Paper. ff. 171. 229 × 190 mm. 1864.

\* \* *Transcribed by D. H. Kelly, M.R.I.A.* An index added.

504. (Crawford Irish Coll. 116.) THE CONVERSATION OF THE ELDERS.

Paper. ff. 249. 230 × 185 mm. 1871.

\* \* Copy of a transcript made in 1865 by Joseph O'Longan from *The Book of Lismore*. For Irish text see Crawford Irish Coll. 117. Former owner: D. H. Kelly.

505. (Crawford Irish Coll. 122.) IRELAND. (f. 1) The State of the Kingdom before the Rebellion. (f. 5) The Rebellion and Management of the ensuing War till the flight of the Marquis of Ormond to France in 1647.

Paper. ff. 62. 350 × 226 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* Former owner: D. H. Kelly.

506. (Crawford Irish Coll. 124.) ANCIENT CASTLES IN IRELAND.

Paper. ff. 157. 310 × 187 mm. xix<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* Old MS. No. 24.

507. (Crawford Irish Coll. 125.) IRELAND. An abstract of such Grants of Lands as have passed the greate Seale of Ireland uppon Certificates of the Commissioners of the Courte of Claymes [1666-1668.]

Paper. ff. 49. 297 × 195 mm. xviii<sup>th</sup> cent.

\* \* A note signed W. H. Hardinge says *I conclude the Volume to be a Chief Secretary's Office Memorandum Book to guide the Charge, and Discharge of the Fees, etc.* f. 1. *V. Simpson, John King Esq<sup>r</sup> Witnesseth that this Book was in Lord Lanesborough hand.* (xviii<sup>th</sup> cent. hand.) Former owners: Mr. King of Ballylinn; D. H. Kelly.

508. [R. 64701.] JOSEPH HILAIRE PIERRE BELLOC. The Unpleasant Room.

Paper. ff. 25 + 2. 218 × 180 mm.

\* \* Original MS., signed *H. Belloc, Calais, Dec. 3, 1928.*



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